THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Fall 2012 *Volume 20, Number 3*

A DEFACED MACHIN'S MILL COPPER

Featured in this issue:

- Cancelled Machin's Mill Halfpence
- A Connecticut Obverse Mystery
- The New Red Book
- Whimsy Strikings
- Dedham, MA – Role in Coining Coppers
- The Interesting Life of a Colonial Coin
- Achievement Awards
- The "Notch Nose" Family of Counterfeit Halfpence

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SBG C4 MarBalt2012 3.23.12

The C4 Newsletter

Volume 20, Number 3

A quarterly publication of

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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Charlie Rohrer at P.O. Box 25, Mountville, PA 17554. Dues are $25-regular (including 1st class mailing of the *Newsletter*); $10 for junior members (under 18).

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

(Jim Rosen)

In my last newsletter, I hoped that you were all having a wonderful summer, now I hope you did. This summer saw the ANA in Philadelphia where two of many wonderful events occurred, a Life Time Achievement Award was given to Ken Bressett by C4 (see later in the Newsletter) and the *C4 Newsletter,* under the editorial guidance of Syd Martin, was selected by a panel of judges to receive the second-place "ANA Outstanding Specialty Club Publication Award." This is a very prestigious honor for C4 and I want to personally thank Syd Martin for his outstanding editorial work that obviously has not gone unnoticed.

The ANA in Philadelphia, like all major shows, was full of buzz and excitement, although I must admit that most of the action seemed to be between dealers as collector activity was not as active as I have seen in past large shows. Last year, the September Whitman Show in Philadelphia was also not very robust, and many thought it was related to the fact that the ANA had preceded it by a few weeks. Now, I am thinking, as are others, that Philadelphia might not be the best of venues, for there was no major show that preceded it. Too many shows? But Baltimore is where we will be next, and that is always a fabulous show – probably the second best of the year, behind FUN.

We had our C4 meeting on Saturday morning in Philadelphia, and I was truly impressed with the turnout. We had 22 members in attendance, which included a number of new members. Like our convention business meeting, we discussed a variety of subjects and tried to keep people up-to-date with what is going on in our club.

As you all know, our convention is November 14th-18th in Baltimore, in conjunction with the Whitman Coins and Collectables Expo. The good news is that the **C4-SB co-sponsored auction is going to be held on Friday night, November 16th at the Convention Center, location to be determined, but probably starting ~6:00pm.** Now that we have the auction date, we can schedule our convention activities. Thursday night is our **Educational Program**, with a social and our donated lots auction before the program. If you have anything numismatic that you'd like to donate to the auction and get a tax write-off (like a colonial that is not selling), please contact Jack Howes. As usual, there will be food!!! The Educational Program and Social will begin at 6pm and will be held at the **Sheraton Inner Harbor Hotel** (our Convention Hotel), in the **Camden Room**, where we can look at coins and feel comfortable in the security of the hotel, rather than having our members travel from the convention center to some other hotel. Friday at 10am in room 301 in the Convention Center, Roger Siboni is giving a talk on Colonial Coins and there may be a few other lectures during the convention from our past president, Ray Williams. Please check the Convention Brochure available at the Convention and Whitman's website, www.whitmanexpo.com and our own, www.colonialcoins.org. Saturday morning at 7am is a Board of Directors meeting in the **Orioles Grille Restaurant** in the Sheraton Hotel. The Business Meeting is going to be held **Saturday** morning at ~ 8:30-9:30 in room **301 in the Convention Center.** On the bourse floor, we are going to have a C4 section with many of our dealers and an

expanded C4 social table with exhibits, plus a slide show of neat colonial coins. If you have a friend who is not yet a C4 member, and is coming to the show, please stop by.

The Educational Program Thursday night is going to consist of a "walk down memory lane" by Harvey Stack, a discussion on the upcoming New Jersey book by the authors of the book, followed by a discussion on the Comitia Americana Medals by our own resident historian and numismatist, John Kraljevick.

With every new venue, there is going to be some unforeseen glitches with our convention and I ask you all to be patient with us as we navigate this new venue. As always, there will be a C4 convention program (thanks to our National Vice President, Jack Howes) listing all the happenings going on during our convention. Again, the Sheraton Hotel Inner Harbor is our Convention Hotel and you can always contact our Bourse Chairman, Dennis Wierzba, for any questions or concerns you may have. Dennis's email address is sscrosby1@gmail.com. And as I've said, both the Whitman website www.whitmanexpo.com and our own www.colonialcoins.org will have all the information that you will need for the convention except for airline information.

The C4 Stack's Bowers catalogue is going to be sent to all C4 members via Stack's Bowers. This mailing might put your name and address on Stack's Bowers general mailing list, so if you would rather not be on their general list but only the C4 list, please call them and make sure that your name and address will appear only for the co-sponsored C4 Stack's Bowers Auctions. The C4 Board is very excited about our new venture with Stack's Bowers and looks forward to seeing you all in Baltimore. For those of you who have not been to a Baltimore show before, you are in for a real treat! It is 10 times the size of the Boston show and you will be exposed to many new dealers as well as new collectors. I already feel the excitement and it is two months away!

Until November, stay well, travel safe and continue to enjoy our great and wonderful hobby.

E PLURIBUS UNUM

According to Alan Herbert in the June 26, 2012 issue of Coin World, the first appearance of E PLURIBUS UNUM (that we know of) was in the poem "Moretum" by Virgil (70 - 19 B.C.). It was used in the line, "Deperdunt propias; color est E Pluribus Unum," which was in the context of ingredients being ground in a mortar & pestle. Our national motto had also appeared as a masthead slogan on a number of early 1770s English newspapers. These newspapers could be the source from where our government was inspired to use E PLURIBUS UNUM as our national motto.

A 1787 CONNECTICUT OBVERSE MYSTERY

(Bruce Smith)

Among the 1787 large letter Connecticut copper varieties attributed by Walter Breen to the Company for Coining Coppers (see Pine Tree EAC'75 Auction Catalog, February 1975, p. 22), the M42-kk.2 is one of three AUCTOPI type obverses. In addition to the obverse misspelling, there is a letter substitution ("I" for "L") on the reverse. The variety was given a high R-5 rating in both the 2005 Stack's Ford IX and 2012 Stack's Bowers Americana catalogs.

In August 2010, I purchased an unattributed Connecticut copper on eBay. The coin matches the 42-kk.2 punctuation except for an additional stop before the cinquefoil atop the head. The upper head hair profile also appears more round, with a bit more space between the head and the first C in CONNEC. When asked, the seller, who is not a colonial specialist, could state only that it had come from a small group of coins he had obtained from New England.

The weight of the coin is 116.4 grains, which is light for the variety. Weights for the M42-kk.2 average approximately the authorized 144 grains, and typically range from 135 to 155 grains, with outliers known down to 121 grains and up to 161 grains. This coin was photographed and studied at the 2010 C4 convention in Boston, but no conclusions regarding the extra punctuation were drawn. Randy Clark prepared an overlay of Neil Rothschild's photographs of my coin with photographs of the Ford M42-kk.2 coin and has generously allowed it to be used here.

Images of the coin have been shared with a number of Connecticut specialists. Among them, Jeff Rock is the only person who recalls having seen an obverse 42 with the extra stop, and this was, by his recollection, over two decades ago.

Smith 1787 M42-kk.2 Detail (Extra Stop) **Ford 1787 M42-kk.2 Detail**

A few suggestions have been posited to explain the obverse:

1. It is an unknown obverse die. Everything else on the die matches, however, so this seems unlikely.

2. A second possibility is that the stop was an original part of the die but was eliminated when the die was reworked, probably shortly after being put into service. Dick August wrote in an e-mail, "I think it is a very early die state with the cinquefoil lightly punched in and a die defect in front of it. My best guess is that the upper part of the die above the head was ground down to eliminate the weak cinquefoil and the die dot. Then the new cinquefoil was pushed in stronger, and some light detail was added to the hair at the top."

   He further suggested that the angle at which the grinding was done might have led to the die break that can be seen on the Ford coin. It might also be noted that neither of the other two AUCTOPI obverses (40 and 41) have a stop in this position.

   Chris McDowell sees this as a significant reworking of the die constituting a new variety. He wrote, "Quality control was not so significant that I think someone would rework the die based on the previous punctuation. After all, the coin weighs 116 grains, or more than 30 grains below authorized weight. Also, more significantly, if someone gave you this die and told you to go fix it – what would you do first? I would fix the "P" in "AUCTOPI", wouldn't you? This would seem to me to be something that would be easier to fix as it would not require grinding of the die, but only striking it with a leg from the "P", to make it an "R". Reworking of the die at this point is a big deal. The die is already on hardened steel. Punches are made in the steel before it is hardened. Someone took a hardened steel die and ground out the previous punch and struck it very hard with a new punch. I would think that the risk of damage to the punch and the die would be very high. It would not be a light decision to do this. Dies were very expensive and fragile. You would need to strike the hardened die with a great deal of force to imprint this image deep into the die. This being on the edge of the die, I would think that you run a significant risk of damaging the die. Think of a block of steel and how hard you would need to hit it with a screwdriver to drive an image into it. Moreover, you can really only hit it

once – otherwise, you will get doubling. The whole die would need to be reheated to soften it. This 'small change' was a big deal."

3. Another possibility, albeit unlikely, is an error strike of some sort.

4. Lastly is the possibility that metal was moved post-strike to create the dot. There isn't any clear evidence of this in terms of tool marks on the surface, but when the coin was examined under high magnification in Boston, some red was observed in the area of the stop. Only one other bit of punctuation on the obverse had similar coloration. This color appears to have faded now.

To assist in understanding this situation, the following four figures show images of my coin and the Ford coin superimposed atop each other at various opacities. It is clear that the two coins are the same save for the extra punctuation

I'm hopeful that readers can assist in arriving at a conclusion to explain the anomaly on this coin's obverse. I would be grateful to learn of any other examples with the additional stop. I'd also be grateful for any ideas that have not been considered. I can be contacted at bhsmith325@gmail.com. I will treat all responses with confidentiality, but I hope to be able to report any findings in a future issue of the *Newsletter*.

Smith and Ford Overlay 100% - 0%

Smith and Ford Overlay 80% - 20%

Smith and Ford Overlay 70% - 30%

Smith and Ford Overlay 60% - 40%

Smith and Ford Overlay 50% - 50 %

Smith and Ford Overlay 40% - 60%

Smith and Ford Overlay 30% - 70%

Smith and Ford Overlay 0% - 100%

DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS' ROLE IN JOSHUA WITHERLE'S MANUFACTURE OF MASSACHUSETTS COPPERS

(James Glickman) Receives

Introduction and Initial Gleanings:

Sometimes asking a simple question can lead to an unexpected numismatic adventure. So it was when, one evening, I perused the chapter on Massachusetts copper coinage in Q. David Bowers' *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*.[1] There I came upon mention of Sylvester Crosby recounting that ingots for Massachusetts coppers were transported from Boston to Dedham, Massachusetts to be rolled into sheets at a mill there, and then transported back to the mint in Boston. Since I grew up and still reside in a town bordering Dedham, my curiosity was immediately piqued by the thought that part of the process took place a few miles away. I asked myself the question that is the principal subject of this paper: where exactly in Dedham did this occur? And, I wondered, what else can I learn about the role Dedham played in Joshua Witherle's minting of Massachusetts coppers? In this paper I will present the various types of evidence and data collected, analyze this information, and finally, identify the area where the mill most likely stood. I will also provide information that paints a fascinating picture of Witherle's mill in Dedham.

Crosby[2] was naturally my point of departure. Crosby's passage in Bowers that captured my attention reads, "[t]he copper for the coins of Massachusetts....after being cast into ingots at the mint in Boston, was carted to the mill at Dedham, where it was drawn under a trip-hammer, and rolled into sheets, when it was returned to the mint, where the blanks were prepared and the coin stamped."[3] An image of a trip-hammer shows it to be a piece of equipment driven by waterpower rotating a wheel which brings the hammer down to impart the desired force on the product (see Figure 1). Most likely the trip-hammer used by Witherle was more primitive than depicted in this image.

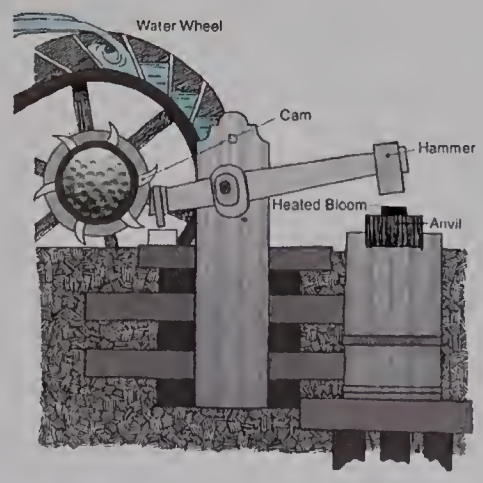


Figure 1. Trip Hammer Diagram

Crosby also provides some helpful contextual information concerning the Dedham mill in his summary of the course of dealings between Joshua Witherle, the "Master Workman of the Mint," and the State's legislative and executive bodies. In particular, the Governor's Council, concerned with the slow pace of production by the mint, met with Witherle on January 17, 1788 to obtain an update and an explanation, and directed him to prepare a report.[4] In his report, dated January 22, 1788, Witherle refers to "Drawing....[the copper] with a Trip Hammer, which might be made, and fixed to the Mill at Dedham, which is now almost ready to Operate."[5] From this reference it is evident that as of early 1788, the mill in Dedham was not yet fully functional. (Witherle also states in this report, regarding the process of getting the trip-hammer to work, that "before I began to fix the above [Trip] Hammers, I fully prov'd the Experiment by having about a Thousand Weight drawn at Newton –."[6] A later report by Witherle dated June 17, 1788 refers to further weather-related delays, however it is unclear if these further delays prevented operations from commencing, or just hampered them.[7]

Crosby does not divulge the location of Witherle's Dedham Mill, but provides some initial clues. Crosby reproduces Witherle's June 10, 1789 petition to the Legislature, after minting operations had ceased, in which he requests that he be able to use buildings and equipment used in connection with the mint for his own "particular Manufacture," without cost to the government. His petition states in part: "[Witherle] begs leave to inform your Honors That He, in order to save expences to Government, erected those buildings on his own land, for which he has not charg'd any Rent – Except the land & Stream at Dedham, where the plating Mill stands, which land & stream is leased to your petitioner for a number of years..."[8] The reference to land and stream is unsurprising, given the need for water power in many 18th Century industrial processes, including other contemporary mint operations such as Machin's Mills. In addition, Crosby comments that Witherle's "particular Manufacture" is "[p]robably the working of copper," and he relates that the Boston Directory of 1789 identifies a "Witherle Joshua & Co." as "copper-smiths."[9]

Local Historical Accounts:

Historical works regarding Dedham were next consulted. They provide important information, but do not precisely identify the location in Dedham where Witherle's rolling mill (or as he referred to it, "plating mill") stood. Nor do these historical accounts cite documentary bases for their claims.

The first of these works is a lengthy article entitled "The Stone Mill and Water Privilege Bought By Thomas Barrows in 1862" by Calvin Guild.[10] The article concerns a stone mill located on Mother Brook, also known as Mill Creek, which today still runs through Dedham between the Charles River and the Neponset River. The article commences, "[n]othing is known of the water privilege, or dams....or the use made of them, previous to 1789; except that they had been [sold by the Town and forfeited back to the Town]. On November 12, 1789, the property was again sold by Ebeneezer Everett, Treasurer of the town, to Joseph Whiting, Paul, Moses and Aaron Whiting, for the sum of

six pounds. They sold, two days afterward, to Joshua Witherle, one quarter of the same property for twenty-five pounds. The saw mill, if there had been one there, was taken away, and a building erected for the blocking of government cents, which were taken elsewhere to be stamped ready for circulation."[11] Guild states that "[h]ow long the use of the mill was continued by [sic] government is uncertain, but in 1799, or earlier, it ceased to be used for that purpose, the cost of transportation from thence to the mint being found too large."[12] Guild then lays out a series of property transactions involving this site, including a sale or lease of property to two gentlemen, Herman Mann and Daniel Poor, for use as a paper mill, which interest was sold to George Bird in 1804, and states that a wire mill was erected on the property; Guild states that the wire mill and the paper mill "stood near together, and one water-wheel between the two, connected by shafting moved the machinery of both."[13] The article describes how in 1807 Joshua Witherle's son conveyed his father's property[14] to merchants John Welles, Ruggles Whiting and Ralph Inman Reed, who manufactured nails, wire manufacture having been abandoned. Paper maker George Bird apparently purchased property including this property in 1819.[15] The property changes hands a few more times, involving local businessmen Frederick Taft, Ezra Taft and John Lemist, eventually becoming The Norfolk Manufacturing Company for the manufacture of cotton cloth, and for which a substantial stone structure was erected in 1834.[16]

I note that Guild's account is mistaken in certain respects. Anyone familiar with Massachusetts coppers knows that they were minted prior to, not after November 1789, when Witherle is stated by Guild to have purchased property on Mother Brook. (In addition, it is unclear what Guild means by "blocking" of "government cents" for stamping in Boston. If Guild intends to state that planchets were cut from the rolled sheets in Dedham and only needed to be struck with dies in Boston, this is not stated in Witherle's reports, and also would contradict Crosby and current thinking. This term either has another meaning or is erroneous.)

A second local historical account which pertains to Witherle's rolling mill, and is largely consistent with Guild, is "A Historical Sketch of Mother Brook, From 1639-1900" by Erastus Worthington.[17] It traces the history and development of Mother Brook at each of its so-called "privileges," i.e. land appurtenant to the waterway and rights to make use of the waterway. Given the rapid industrialization described in this book, the several mills in the area depended on the right to use Mother Brook's water power. Worthington comes closer to identifying a location of Witherle's mill, at least providing a general area. In his discussion of the "fourth privilege upon the stream, the one immediately below the third which was situated at Mill Lane," Worthington traces the same progression of property transfers as did Guild.[18] This reference provides a focus on an area of Mother Brook immediately downstream from Mill Lane. After referring to the property at the fourth privilege being originally part of the land granted by the Town to Nathaniel Whiting and James Draper in 1682, Worthington explains that the privilege later reverted back to the Town. Worthington states that "...in 1787, the Town again transferred it to Joseph Whiting Jr., Paul, Moses and Aaron Whiting for the sum of 6 pounds. At this time a building was erected for blocking copper cents, on this privilege, being used for this purpose a short time only."[19] This matches Guild's account, except

for the date listed as 1787 instead of 1789, and the lack of any mention of Joshua Witherle. (Note again the curious term "blocking.")

Worthington's account of the fourth privilege continues by claiming that "Herman Mann afterwards fitted up this building for the manufacture of paper,"[20] presumably referring to the building "erected for blocking copper cents." In 1804 according to Worthington, George Bird purchased "the property" for paper manufacturing, and states, as does Guild, that "[a]t about this time another mill was erected at this privilege for the manufacture of wire...these mills were connected and used the same wheel."[21] In 1819, Worthington continues, "George Bird became the owner of the whole privilege including land and buildings, and it was then used for paper manufacture."[22] The subsequent transfers described by Worthington line up with Guild, with the property passing from Bird to Frederick Taft, a corporation named Norfolk Manufacturing Company with Taft and John Lemist as partners, sale of Taft's interest to Ezra Taft, and a new stone mill erected in 1835 (Guild says 1834).[23]

A third historical account covering Mother Brook is "Men of Useful Trades: Craftsmen and Mills of the Dedham Grant, 1636-1840" by Electa Kane Tritsch, Dedham Grant Survey Project, Westwood, MA, 2nd Edition, 1982. In discussing the area's development, she states at p. 36 that "[i]n 1787 the first non-Whiting mill was built at the privilege farthest downstream. This was a short-lived coin mint, soon replaced by the first of George Bird's many regional paper mills."

Deeds:

Deeds to property on Mother Brook were found which pertain to Witherle and other individuals mentioned above. They provide important further information concerning discovering the location of Witherle's rolling mill, in combination with other evidence. In most but not all respects, the deeds corroborate the story told by Guild and Worthington.

By deed recorded November 14, 1789, Ebeneezer Everett, Dedham Town Clerk, transferred, for the sum of six pounds, land on the "stream or land for a mill pond" to Joseph, Paul, Aaron and Moses Whiting, noting the land was formerly granted to Nathaniel Whiting and James Draper as a "fulling mill" and forfeited to the Town.[24] Just prior to that, on October 30, 1789, Moses and Aaron Whiting conveyed to Joshua Witherle for 25 pounds "one full fourth part of the stream or water course" running between the Charles and Neponset Rivers, the same granted by Richard Woodward of New Haven and Moses and Timothy Whiting," also described as the "one full fourth part of the privilege of the whole of the stream with all the privileges and appurtenances."[25] It is unclear if this phrasing means that the deed is conveying one-fourth of what was acquired from the Town, as Guild asserts, or is conveying the fourth privilege in its entirety – most likely the former. This deed does not refer to a conveyance from the Town or to Nathaniel Whiting or James Draper, but rather refers to a Richard Woodward, a figure not mentioned in the previous deed, or by Guild or Worthington. There is a deed, recorded December 16, 1784 in which "Richard Woodward of New Haven"

conveys to Moses and Aaron Whiting for thirty pounds "the one third part of a saw mill with the water courses, dams, tools and implements for sawing and lands thereto..."[26] There is no indication of exactly which parcel of land is being conveyed. Interestingly, recall that Guild refers to a sawmill possibly being present prior to Witherle's mill being built.

The next relevant deed was recorded July 24, 1797, where Joshua Witherle sells, for $5,000 "one-half of the stream or water course" to a Benjamin Cobb, Jr., "together with the wire works and blacksmith's shop as they now stand."[27] A Benjamin Cobb is listed as one of the "sureties" on the bond provided by Witherle as required by the Commonwealth to secure its approval of him as Mint Master, which bond was cancelled on June 17, 1789.[28] The reference to wire works, which is consistent with Witherle's background as a coppersmith, (as cited above, see Crosby, p. 273 footnote 1), indicates what use Witherle made of the property after mint-related activities ceased. Witherle by this deed appears to be selling one-half of his interest in the property to Cobb, possibly going into business with him. Worthington and Tritsch describe a paper mill on the property, and it seems that one or more such mills existed on a different portion of the fourth privilege or nearby. In addition, I note that both Guild and Worthington claim that wire works were erected in 1804, yet the Witherle-Cobb deed shows the wireworks to have been there earlier. In any event the arrangement with Cobb did not last, for in a deed recorded March 16, 1802, Cobb sells the land back to Witherle for the same $5,000.[29]

Regarding Herman Mann and Daniel Poor, mentioned in Guild as operating a paper mill, a series of deeds from 1800 and 1801 (e.g. Book 14, page 171) refer to a lease agreement to them effective April 1, 1799, involving land that is not particularly described, but reference is made to a paper mill, and land "near" a "wire mill." In addition, deeds from 1805 and 1806 name George Bird, and reference a paper mill "near a wire mill" (Book 19, pages 217-18). These deeds support Guild and Worthington's description of a wire mill and paper mill being in close proximity and sharing a water-wheel and shaft.

Joshua Witherle having died in June 1806 (see footnote 14 above), his son, Joshua Jr., sold his father's Dedham property. By deed recorded November 3, 1807, Joshua Jr. and his wife, Abigail, sold all of Joshua Witherle's property to John Welles, Ruggles Whiting and Ralph Inman Reed for $2,000.[30] The deed specifies that this conveyance contains the land conveyed to Witherle on October 30, 1789 and on December 30, 1799. These dates precisely correspond to the dates of conveyance (as opposed to the date the deed was recorded) set forth in the deeds for Witherle's two purchases, at Book 167, page 19 and at Book 11, page 136, discussed above. Therefore, all of Witherle's property on Mother Brook passed to Welles, Whiting and Reed.

Deeds show that the remaining chain of ownership of Witherle's property occurred as described in Guild and Worthington. From a series of deeds it can be seen that Ruggles Whiting and Ralph Inman Reed conveyed their interest in Witherle's former property to John and Samuel Welles over a number of years, and that John and Samuel

Welles in 1819 conveyed the property to George Bird, for $8,000, property, buildings and privileges on "Mother Brook or Mill Creek" "as conveyed by Joshua Witherle to John Welles, Ruggles Whiting and Ralph I. Reed on the twenty sixth day of October 1807," the same date on the deed from Witherle to Reed et al.; moreover, the deed also specifically references "Book 29, page 92," the correct reference for the same Witherle-to-Reed et al. deed.[31] Ten years later, George Bird conveyed land on Mother Brook to John Lemist and Frederick Taft for $15,000 in a deed recorded April 18, 1829.[32] George Bird owned additional property in close proximity, also selling land specified as lying on the "Easterly side of Mill Creek, so-called" to Lemuel Whiting, by deed recorded January 28, 1829.[33] From the specification of the east side of the stream in this second deed from Bird, we can infer that the conveyance to Lemist and Taft pertains to the west side of the stream. As Guild and Worthington state, Lemist and Taft sold their property to Norfolk Manufacturing Co., for $15,000, as demonstrated by a deed recorded on May 29, 1830.[34] This deed, in a lengthy description of the property conveyed, specifically refers to the Book and page number of the deed from Bird to Lemist and Taft just discussed, "Book 86, page 224," and not Bird's other conveyance (Book 87, page 122) specifying the east side of Mother Brook).

Other Contemporary Source References:

Acts & Resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature:

In Chapter 137 of the "Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1789 – May Session," dated June 26, 1789, the Legislature provides as follows: "Resolve on the Petition of Joshua Witherle, Giving Him Liberty to Make Use of a Mill at Dedham, Until Further Order: On the Petition of Joshua Witherle. Resolved that the said Witherle until further order of the General Court, have [sic] liberty to make use of the mill at Dedham, with the house, appurtenances, and utensils to the same belonging, which were erected and provided for the service of the mint, he keeping the same in good repair, & returning them when required, according to an inventory which has been exhibited by said Witherle without any charge or expense to the government." By this act, the Legislature granted Witherle's June 10, 1789 petition discussed above (Crosby, pp. 272-73).

In Chapter 133 of the "Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1798 – January Session," p. 272, dated February 19, 1799, the Legislature provides that "[o]n the memorial of Joshua Witherle respecting certain buildings & implements belonging to this Commonth. which were used in the coining of Copper Cents in the years 1787 & 1788, Resolved, That Amasa Davis Esqr, Q.M. General be & he hereby is appointed [&] directed to receive charge of said buildings & implements, -- to sell the same at public auction...to pay the proceeds of such sale into the Treasury; and to render an account of his doings herein..." Ten years after coining operations had ceased, Witherle must still have been in possession of the buildings and equipment used by him. What caused Witherle to petition for the selling of these items at this juncture is unknown.

Newspaper Notices and Articles:

In chronological order, the following are pertinent articles or notices appearing in contemporary Dedham or Boston newspapers. First, there are two interesting items from 1799. A March 9, 1799 advertisement directly relates to the Resolve three weeks earlier, referred to above, requiring the sale of equipment and buildings to manufacture Massachusetts coppers.[35] The advertisement reads: "To be sold at Public Auction, at Dedham...Two Buildings, that was [sic] erected for the Rolling of Copper, &c. on the Mill Creek, formerly improved by Mr. Joshua Witherlee, for, and on account of this Commonwealth, together with foundry tools, Hammers, Tongs, Rolers, Iron Bed Screws, &c, &c. Sale to be on the Premises..." Aside from evidencing the execution of the February 19, 1799 Resolve and reinforcing the purpose of Witherle's Dedham mill in the coining process, the items listed correspond closely to an inventory of two buildings and equipment in Dedham prepared by Witherle and submitted to the Governor's Council on January 28, 1789, reproduced by Crosby at p. 270.[36]

Also in 1799, an April 4 piece entitled "Geographical Description of Dedham Plain," describes Dedham at that time. The article refers to "that area of the river, called Mill Creek; on which are built 2 Grist-Mills...2 Saw-Mills; a Manufactory of Wire, equal to any imported; several Paper-Mills, also another which is now erecting, a number of Chockolate-Mills, &c." Notably, only one wire factory is listed on Mill Creek, in what was a very active industrial area in late Eighteenth Century Dedham.

As discussed, deeds involving Messrs. Mann and Poor, who are supposed to have been involved with a paper mill, describe the paper mill as being "near a wire mill." An 1801 notice in a local newspaper[37] advertises the sale of the "right of equity of redemption" (i.e. right of the mortgagor or borrower to redeem property from the mortgagee-lender) of land on Mill Creek which had been leased to Daniel Poor on April 1, 1799 by Paul and Joseph Whiting. The land is described as being "east of the Wire Mill, on the lower dam of said Creek in said Dedham" and includes "Part of a certain Paper Mill standing on the Premises." This notice helps establish the relationship between the various pieces of property laying on that part of Mill Creek (Mother Brook).

Finally, in 1807 following Witherle's death the previous year, Witherle's son placed notices in newspapers announcing the sale of Witherle's property on Mother Brook. The first such notice appears in a Boston newspaper on June 26, 1807, entitled "Wire-Mill at Dedham." It reads: "On Thursday, 9th July 3 o'clock, on the premises, The Building, formerly improved as a Wire Mill, in Dedham, with the Privilege of half the Stream, on which it is situated. The Building is calculated for a Cotton Manufactory, and would answer for a Paper Mill. For terms and particulars, apply to Joshua Witherle, Washington-street."[38] A notice with almost identical wording was soon placed in a local newspaper with the same title, announcing a second auction of the premises on July 23, 1807.[39] The property, as we know from the examination of deeds, above, actually sold in the latter part of that year.

Massachusetts State Archives:

Research at the Massachusetts State Archives yielded other useful information concerning the rolling mill in Dedham. [40]

Witherle indeed leased land on which the rolling mill stood on Mother Brook during the use of this mill in support of his minting operation. The Archives contain a large number of receipts for expenses incurred by Witherle for his activities both in Boston and in Dedham. Among these receipts is one dated January 7, 1789, which contains an entry for rent of the land in Dedham.[41] The receipt is entitled "Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Joshua Witherle for Sundries Omitted." The first entry reads, "To cash paid for rent of stream at Dedham from 15th July, 1787 to 21 January, 1789, which is one year 6 months 9,'5. @90[unreadable] per ann" with a corresponding monetary entry of "[symbol for pound] 6.16.6 ," i.e. 6 pounds, sixteen shillings and six pence. The receipt does not state to whom Witherle paid rent. No other receipts containing entries for rent were found. Absent any rent receipts for an earlier period of time, this receipt tells us the probable date that Witherle's activities in Dedham began, July 15, 1787. The year and one-half period pertaining to this receipt ends approximately nine or ten months prior to the fall 1789 property purchase by Witherle. Therefore, Witherle rented property in Dedham on which he operated his rolling mill, and then purchased the Dedham property following the cessation of the minting of Massachusetts coppers.[42]

The Archives contain an inventory provided by Witherle to the State concerning the property located both at Boston and at Dedham.[43] The portion of the inventory for Dedham describes two buildings, one a building with a plating machine, a trip-hammer, tongs, rollers, a forge, screws, etc., and a "small coal house" with "about 50 Bushels Charcoal."

The Archives contain other valuable background information concerning the operation of Witherle's Dedham mill. There are several receipts which document expenses in carting copper to and from Dedham[44] and the identity of workmen hired for this task, as well as materials and labor costs.[45]

Maps:

No map was found mentioning the various privileges on Mother Brook or setting forth their boundaries. Neither was a map found referring to Witherle or to a mill used in connection with rolling copper in support of the minting of "government cents." However, I was able to locate maps that, in light of the foregoing documents and information, are critical in arriving at a hypothesis as to the location of Witherle's rolling mill. The following historical three maps depict Mother Brook. Figure 2 is a portion of a map of Dedham from 1794.[46] Figure 3 is a portion of an 1829 survey of Mother Brook, depicting the fourth privilege.[47] Figure 4 is a portion of an 1859 map of Dedham.[48]

Although the 1794 map (Figure 2) is somewhat cruder than the maps of 1829 and 1859, one can generally see the same winding path of Mother Brook, and its widening and narrowing at certain points. Mother Brook in the 1794 map is variously labeled "Mother Brooks" and "Mill Creek," and the Charles River from which it diverts is also labeled. Along Mother Brook, the following mills are labeled, "Leather Mill," Grist Mill," "Grist Mill," and "Wire Mill." Only one wire mill is identified on Mother Brook (or anywhere on the map, in fact), and only one wire mill is identified in the April 4, 1799 newspaper article discussed above. Therefore, given the existence of one wire mill and the evidence in deeds, newspaper advertisements and Worthington's account that Witherle used his property to manufacture wire after minting operations ceased, the Wire Mill identified on the 1794 map logically shows the location of Witherle's wire mill. The wire mill may have only been in existence a few years when this map was made, as Witherle stopped using his rolling mill by 1789, and the first recorded mention of a wire mill in Dedham aside from this map is the July 1797 deed from Witherle to Benjamin Cobb.

Figure 2. Dedham Map, 1794

The 1829 map at Figure 3 is a portion of a survey of Mother Brook. It is significant for two reasons. First, the east side of Mother Brook is labeled "Lemuel Whiting." This corresponds perfectly to the deed from Bird to Lemuel Whiting specifying the east side of the stream, see footnote 33 and accompanying text. On the west side, then, is land conveyed by Bird to Lemist and Taft, and then to Norfolk Manufacturing Co. as seen above. Second, the map refers to mills owned by Bird and by Taft. Bird was in the paper business and thus the mill labeled "Paper Mill" on the east side of Figure 3 is his mill, and the "Factory" on the west side is thus Taft's mill.

The 1859 map at Figure 4 shows Mill Lane crossing Mother Brook (to the right of where High Street crosses Bussey Street). Worthington identifies this location as the third privilege (third privilege "situated at Mill Lane" as Worthington states), with the fourth privilege immediately downstream (here, below and to the right). At that spot on Figure 3, a factory labeled "Norfolk Manu. Co. Cotton Mill" is shown. As discussed above, Worthington and Guild both trace the history of the property on which copper cents were "blocked" to the establishment of a factory called the Norfolk Manufacturing Co. And as we have seen, this chain of ownership appears to be corroborated by a series of deeds linking Witherle to this exact company. The location on the 1859 map "Norfolk Manu. Co. Cotton Mill" thus appears to be where the fourth privilege is located. Moreover, it matches Worthington by lying just downstream from Mill Lane ("fourth privilege upon the stream, the one immediately below the third which was situated at Mill Lane," as Worthington states). Finally, comparing the path of Mother Brook on both maps, the location of "Wire Mill" on the 1794 map (Figure 2) seems to be roughly the same as that of "Norfolk Manu. Co. Cotton Mill" on the 1859 map, Figure 4. Both are found at the bottom of a section of Mother Brook that first curves rather sharply to the right, and then curves at an almost 90 degree angle downward, narrowing (at Mill Lane, the third privilege), widening and then narrowing again at the fourth privilege where both "Wire Mill" is identified on the 1794 map and "Norfolk Manu. Co. Cotton Mill" is situated on the 1859 map.

Figure 5 is a Google Map of the pertinent area of Mother Brook today. Mill Lane is now known as Sawmill Lane. One can discern the now-familiar curved shape of this section of Mother Brook, and the similar narrow and wide sections comparable to that shown on Figures 2 and 4. The area on this map corresponding to the location of the wire mill, and what Worthington has identified as the fourth privilege, is today accessed by S. Stone Mill Drive, seen on Figure 5.

Figure 6 is a photograph taken on August 5, 2012. It is taken from the northeast side of Mother Brook facing the southwest side of the stream. Shown is what I believe to be roughly the portion of Mother Brook where the wire mill is shown on the 1794 map and by where the "Norfolk Manu. Co. Cotton Mill" sits on the 1859 map. The building on the left in the photograph houses condominiums, and most likely is located at or very near the spot to which Guild refers as the "substantial stone structure" built in 1834. Mother Brook narrows from a mill pond to a narrower stream at this point; there is today a small waterfall (seen in the bottom of the photograph) at the bottom of which is the

narrow stream. Figure 7 is another photograph also taken on August 5, 2012, taken from the bridge crossing Sawmill Lane (formerly Mill Lane) at the "third privilege," facing downstream toward the area of the "fourth privilege." The photograph gives a sense of the gentle bend in the mill pond that even today is similar to that seen on the earlier maps.

Figure 3. Survey Map, 1829

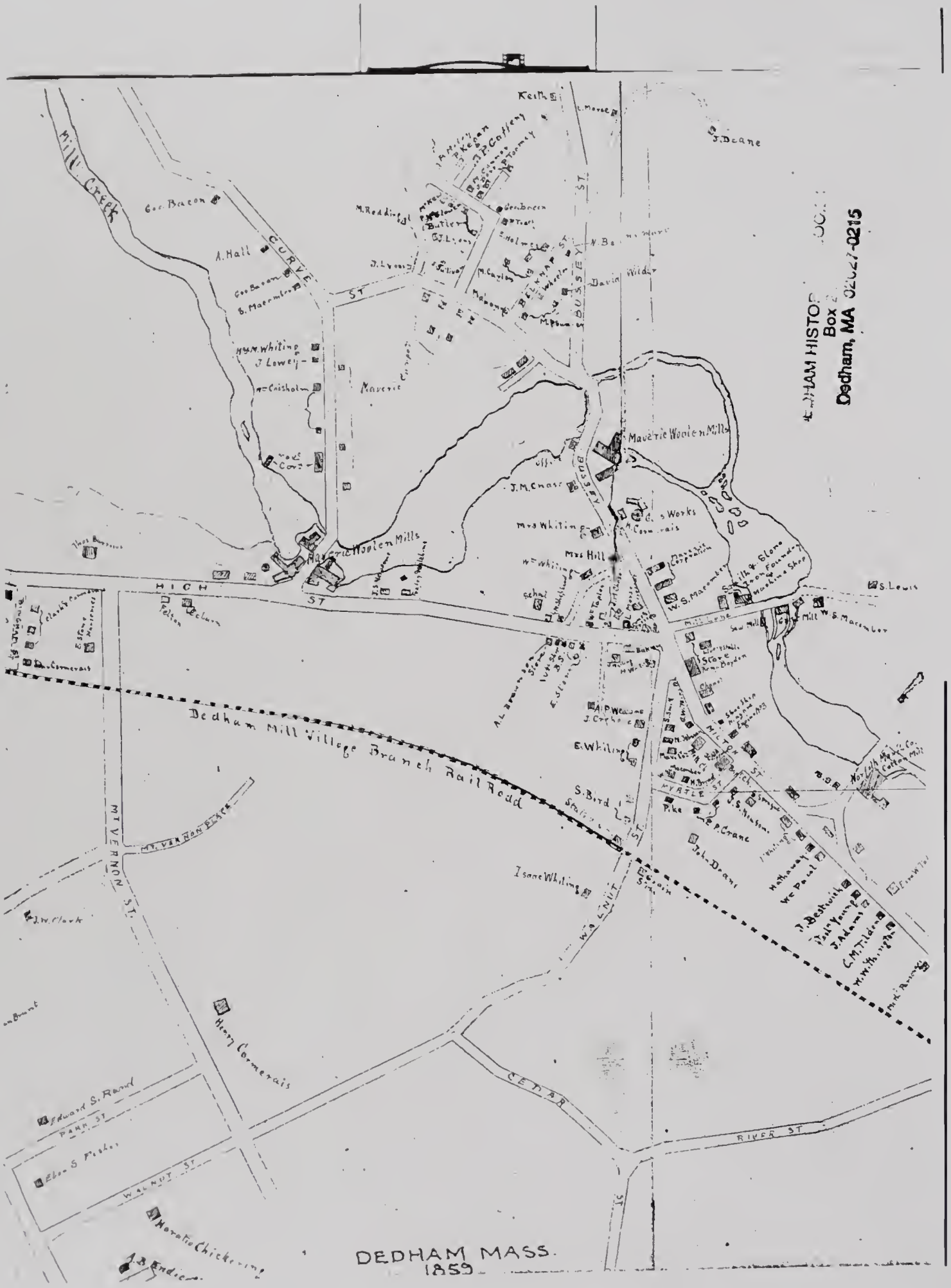


Figure 4. Mother Brook Map, 1859

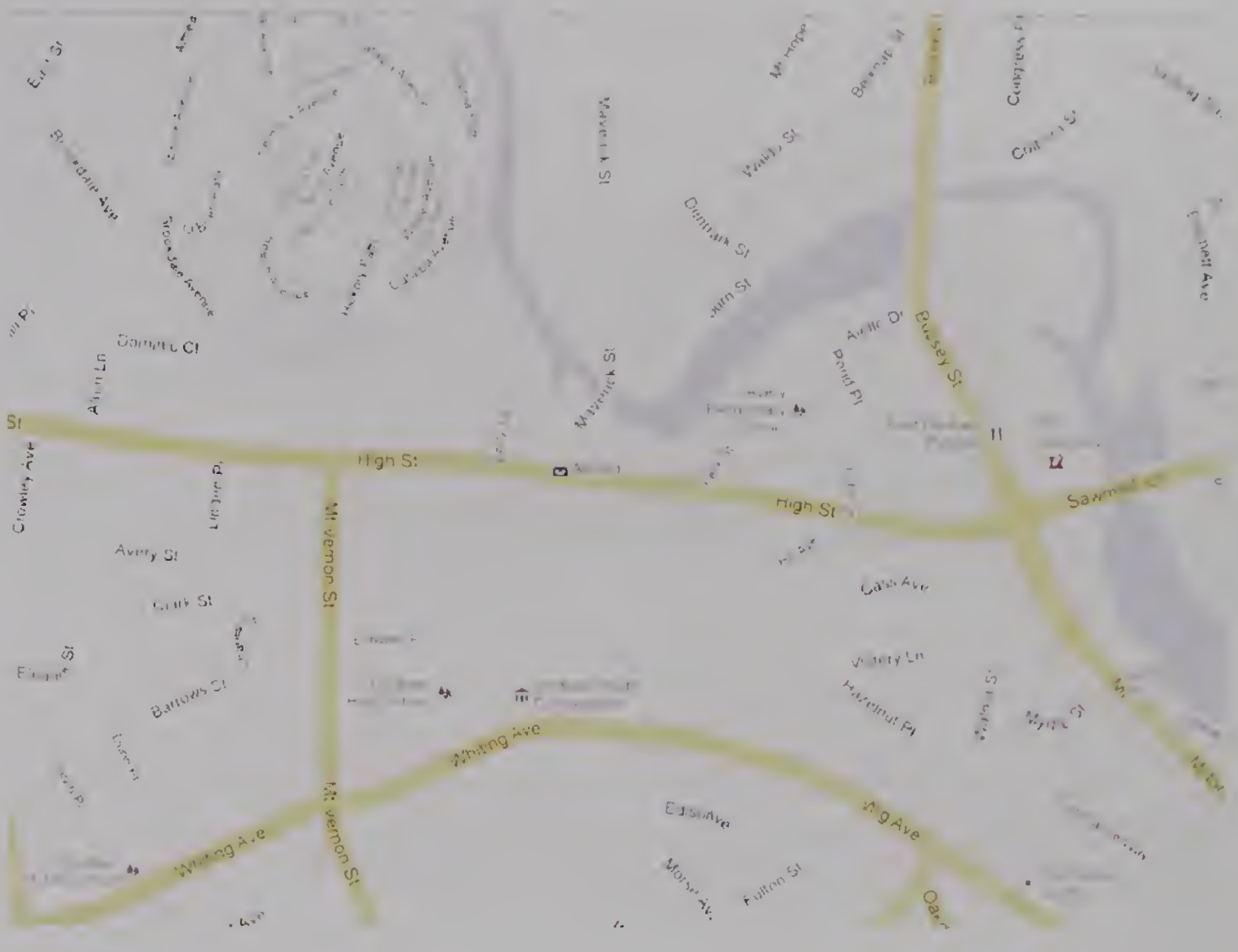


Figure 5. Google Map of the Pertinent Area

Figure 6.

Figure 7.

Discussion and Conclusions:

The weight of the evidence strongly indicates that Witherle's rolling or "plating" mill was located on Dedham's Mother Brook near S. Stone Mill Drive, at or near where the mill pond narrows back into a stream at that portion of Mother Brook. This is the site identified on the 1794 map of Dedham as a wire mill, the only mill so identified. Contemporary deeds, advertisements and other sources confirm that Witherle engaged in the manufacture of wire, an undertaking consistent with his trade as a coppersmith. The 1859 map of Dedham established that Norfolk Manufacturing Co. existed at this location on Mother Brook. This company is traceable as the purchaser of property that had been purchased and conveyed by Witherle, through successive deeds. In certain circumstances, deeds explicitly refer to prior deeds in the chain, strengthening the line of ownership. This line runs from Witherle to Ralph Inman Reed, etc. to John and Samuel Welles, to George Bird, to Taft and Lemist, to Norfolk Manufacturing Co. It is generally consistent with Guild and Worthington. And this area of Mother Brook matches Worthington's description of location of the fourth privilege, where, he claims, Witherle ran a mill in support the government's minting activities. The evidence thus points to this part of Mother Brook, with a dearth of evidence pointing to any other particular location.

That is not to say that the evidence raises no questions. First, it remains unclear whether the 1789 deed to Witherle from the Whitings was for the fourth privilege, or one-fourth of the privilege at that part of the stream. If Mann and Poor ran a paper mill on part of the fourth privilege, perhaps the latter interpretation is correct. Secondly, the deed from the town to the Whitings does not mention Richard Woodward, yet the deed from the Whitings to Witherle does. A deed shows Woodward conveying land to Moses and Aaron Whiting in 1784, but then what land are they purchasing from the Town in 1789? Thirdly, concerning Mann and Poor's paper mill, there is no deed conveying land from Witherle to them, so it is likely that they probably rented or bought land next to

Witherle's ("east of the wire mill") on that privilege or the adjoining third privilege, connected by a shaft to the same water wheel which powered Witherle's mill. In fact, the 1801 newspaper notice described above refers to Poor leasing land from Paul and Joseph Whiting. While these issues cannot be fully resolved, they do not, in my judgment, alter the conclusions discussed above.

I have also considered the possibility that Witherle rented land on which he operated a rolling mill and then, in 1789, purchased *different* property on which he operated a wire mill. It seems much more likely that Witherle bought land with which he was familiar and already had buildings and equipment. The wheel described as powering the wire mill and adjoining paper mill may well be the wheel from the trip-hammer (see Figure 1), which most likely would have remained in place. And property of the State pertaining to the rolling mill (buildings and equipment) was not auctioned off, on Witherle's petition, until 1799, and it is unlikely that Witherle would leave such items on property that he did not own and did not continue to occupy. In fact, as we have seen, Witherle petitioned the Legislature on June 10, 1789 to continue using the buildings and equipment for his own "particular Manufacture," purchasing property on Mother Brook a matter of months later.

What remains elusive is the exact spot within this area where Witherle's rolling mill stood. First, which side of Mother Brook is the correct side? As discussed above, the deeds pertaining to George Bird's purchases and conveyances point to the west side of Mother Brook, which is the side furthest from Dorchester in the 1794 map (Figure 2), and on which Norfolk Manufacturing Co. stands in the 1859 map (Figure 4). This is more likely than not for the reasons discussed above, including the corroborating 1829 map, Figure 3, which shows the east side owed by Lemuel Whiting as the pertinent deed states, meaning the west side is where the George's Bird's property which was sold to Lemist and Taft stood. Also, as discussed the labeling leads to the conclusion that George Bird owned the "paper mill" on the east side and therefore the mill on the west side is Taft's mill, which is consistent with the progression of deeds leading to the Norfolk Manufacturing Co. (And although of limited value, I have visited the area several times, and the topography of the west side of Mother Brook, by South Stone Mill Drive (see Figure 5) appears to be more level and more accessible to Mother Brook than the east side). If this is the correct side, then where on the west side might the rolling mill have stood? This question in part requires determining where the paper mill that supposedly shared use with the wire mill of a same water wheel stood. Was it contiguous to the wire mill, or on the opposite side of Mother Brook? Given the reference to the east side of the stream in George Bird's deed to Lemuel Whiting (Book 87, page 122), and references in the 1800-1801 deeds to the paper mill being "east" of the wire mill, the possibility of the two mills standing on opposite sides of the stream. However, if that were the case, the wording would probably specify that the stream came between these mills. And only at a very narrow place in the stream at that location would it even be possible. Finally, assuming the mills were both on the southwest side of Mother Brook, then the paper mill might have been a bit more downstream ("east"), and thus the wire mill would have been a little closer to Mill Lane and the third privilege, upstream – to the left – of the Norfolk Mfg. Co. in Figure 4.[49] I think that this is the most likely answer,

although a greater understanding of the mechanics involving powering two mills with a common water wheel and shafting would advance this inquiry.

The probable series of events regarding Dedham, then, is as follows. Witherle realizes that he needs a separate facility, a mill powered by water-power, to work ingots into sheets or plates out of which planchets will later be cut in Boston. Having tested a trip-hammer somewhere in Newton as he states in his January 1788 report, Witherle finds a site at Dedham where several other mills exist, and leases the property (from whom we do not know, but it was most likely one of the ubiquitous Whitings, or perhaps from the Town of Dedham). He builds two buildings, a mill and a "small coal house," as Witherle terms it in his inventory provided to the State.[50] He finally gets the trip-hammer in place and operating. The delays he encounters prompts inquiries from the state, for which he must answer in writing. He pays expenses for transportation of ingots and the resulting sheets, and continues to pay rent for a year an a half (6 pounds, sixteen shillings and six pence in total), expenses that he submits to the state for payment. Local laborers such as Rufus Whiting are employed to perform transportation between Boston and Dedham. The mill was not in operation in service to the mint in Boston for very long. It was still not fully ready in January 1788, and by June 1789 Witherle was requesting the Legislature to be able to make use of the property for his own private use. In the fall of 1789, Witherle purchases the property tht he had been renting. Witherle either makes use of the exiting buildings and/or builds a new building for the manufacture of wire, employing his skills as a coppersmith. It is very possible that the water wheel from the trip-hammer is repurposed or modified to provide the necessary power for the wire mill. Around 1799 a paper mill is built and uses the same water wheel, perhaps paying a fee to Witherle. In 1799, Witherle gets around to asking the state to dispose of the buildings and equipment used in connection with minting operations (possibly being reminded to do so by some State official), and the state's Quartermaster General holds such an auction. Witherle sells half of his land to Benjamin Cobb in 1797, perhaps to go in to business with him. Or perhaps Cobb, who was one of the sureties on Witherle's bond given to the State, had provided financing to the wire mill. For reasons unknown, Witherle buys back from Cobb the one-half portion of his property in 1802, perhaps having paid back any financing extended by Cobb. Witherle dies in 1806, and his son acts as administrator of the estate, selling the property to a trio of businessmen the next year. The property is used to manufacture nails, paper, and eventually cotton or woolen goods.

Further Questions:

We have considered the question of which side of Mother Brook Witherle's rolling mill stood, and the related question of the configuration of the water wheel and shafting connecting the wire and paper mills. And if both mills stood on the southwest side as I suspect, there is no definitive precise spot where Witherle's rolling mill was located. However we have arrived at a theory pointing toward a relatively compact area on the southwest side of Mother Brook at the end of S. Stone Mill Drive (see Figure 5).

Other, more general questions remain. Why did Witherle have a separate facility to roll copper when other contemporary minting operations did not? Why did Witherle

leave Boston at all to create a rolling mill with the associated costs of carting loads between Boston and Dedham? Why did Witherle choose Dedham as the location of his rolling mill? It appears that Witherle needed a stream to power his operation, and he did not have access to such a site in Boston. And, the existence of several mills at Mother Brook, plus the proximity to Boston, probably became important factors. Why was Newton used to test the trip-hammer first, and why not at the same site in Dedham? And where exactly in Newton did Witherle test the trip-hammer (perhaps to be the subject of additional research by the author). Finally, did the problems Witherle appears to have encountered with the operation of the trip-hammer including testing it in Newton, and also perhaps high transportation expenses to and from Dedham (as Guild states) affect or hinder the output of Massachusetts coppers? All of these questions present fascinating aspects of Witherle's Dedham operations, which played an important role in the minting of Massachusetts' copper coinage.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to acknowledge the helpful suggestions, critical source documents, and unflagging encouragement provided by Mike Packard and Tom Gesner. I am grateful to both of them. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the Dedham Historical Society, in particular the valuable assistance provided by Sandra Waxman and Robert Hanson.

ENDNOTES

[1] Bowers, Q. David, *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*, Atlanta, Ga., Whitman Publishing LLC, 2009, text appearing at pp. 195-96.

[2] Crosby, Sylvester S., *The Early Coins of America,* Boston, 1875, Reprinted by The Token & Medal Society, 1965.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 257

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[9] *Ibid.*, p, 273, footnote 1.

[10] *Dedham Historical Register*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1893, pp. 51 et seq. The article notes that the paper was originally read at a meeting of the Dedham Historical Society on September 4, 1865.

[11] *Ibid*,, p. 51.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[14] Joshua Witherle died on June 12, 1806. A notice for Capt. John Witherle's death "yesterday afternoon" appears among the death notices in the June 13, 1806 edition of Boston newspaper *The Repertory,* Vol. III, Issue 47, p. 3.

[15] Dedham Historical Register, op. cit., p. 53.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

[17] Press of C.G. Wheeler, Dedham, MA, 1900.

[18] Ibid., p. 6.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 12.

[24] *Suffolk Registry of Deeds*, Book 167, page 19. Until 1793, Dedham was part of Suffolk County, which includes Boston. In that year, a new county, Norfolk County was formed with Dedham as the county seat, as it remains today. Accordingly, deeds pertaining to Dedham recorded up to 1793 are located at the Suffolk County Registry of Deeds in Boston, and thereafter at the Norfolk Registry of Deeds in Dedham. All deeds are copies made some years later. Registry staff members were unaware of the location of any original deeds or whether they survived.

[25] Book 167, page 19. Note that the 1789 dates on these deeds corroborates the account in Guild, while being inconsistent with Worthington.

[26] Book 146, page 119. Richard Woodward was part of an old Dedham family, who had married a woman from the prominent Ames family of Dedham, and had been forced into a divorce from her in the wake of his attempted plundering the Ames family estate. He spent time in New Haven during these troubled years. Private communication with Dedham Historical Society historian Robert Hanson, July 6, 2012.

[27] Book 7, page 177 (recorded and in the Norfolk Country Registry of Deeds, see footnote 22 above).

[28] Crosby, p. 272.

[29] Book 16, page 206. Witherle also made a small second purchase of land in 1800 which again serves to establish the existence of wire works on the property. In a deed recorded on January 25, 1800, Witherle purchases, for $150, from Joseph and Paul Whiting land described as from lying from the road "to the place were the wireworks now stand." Book 11, page 136. This land appears to abut Wirtherle's existing property and afforded him better access to it.

[30] Book 29, page 92.

[31] Book 61, page 269. The deed specifies that other property, including a farm, is included in the conveyance.

[32] Book 86, pages 223, 224.

[33] Book 87, page 122. This purchase price specified in the deed is only $100.

[34] Book 91, page 258.

[35] *Columbian Centinel*, Vol. XXXI, Issue 2, page 3, Boston, Mass., March 9,1799.

[36] *Massachusetts State Archives*, Vol. 140, p. 370.

[37] *Columbian Minerva*, Vol. V, Issue 238, p. 1, Dedham, Mass., April 28, 1801.

[38] *New England Palladium*, Vol. 29, Issue 51, p. 1, Boston, Mass., June 26, 1807.

[39] *The Independent Chronicle*, Vol. XXXIX, Issue 2736, p. 3, Boston, Mass., July 16, 1807.

[40] In addition, viewing (on microfiche) the very documents which Crosby reviewed, discussed, and in many cases instances reproduced, proved to be a particular treat.

[41] *Massachusetts State Archives*, Vol. 140, page 168a.

[42] In a January 22, 1789 meeting of the Governor's Council, Witherle was ordered discharged of his duties as Master Workman of the Mint. *Massachusetts State Archives, Governor's Counsel Executive Records,* Vol 30, page 442. Since on June 10, 1789 Witherle refers in his petition to land "leased to" him, see footnote 7 and accompanying text, he apparently continued to rent land after January 1789 up until his purchase of land.

[43] Vol. 140, page 370. See also Crosby, p. 270, where the inventory is reproduced in its entirety.

[44] E.g., Vol. 140, page 356 (with charges ranging from 2 shillings 6 pence to 5 shillings per trip.

[45] E.g., Vol. 140, page 325 (glazing 48 sq. ft. of glass at "the Mill at Dedham"); page 355 (work by Samuel Doggett for work on the "Triphammer"). The mill appears to be variously referred to as the "rolling mill' and the "plating mill" (Vol. 140, page 333, for carting from "plating mill" to "mint" and back again). In addition to Samuel Doggett, other laborers include William Whiting (Vol. 140, page 330), Joseph and Paul Whiting (Vol. 140, p. 349), and Richard Faxon (Vol. 140, page 363a for fixing the Triphammer).

[46] *Massachusetts State Archives,* map collection, Volume 15, page 19. The map is a result of a request by the Commonwealth to each city and town to create and submit a map. (Private communication with State Archivist Martha Clark, April 26, 2012.)

[47] Courtesy of Dedham Historical Society, William Ellis Plan 148 (1829), as plotted by Earl W. Pilling.

[48] Courtesy of Dedham Historical Society.

[49] The possibility that both mills lay on the east side of Mother Brook, at the fourth privilege, cannot be ruled out, although in my judgment it is less likely to be the case than the two mills standing on the southwest side of Mother Brook.

[50] *Massachusetts State Archives*, Vol. 140, page 370.

SOME IDLE THOUGHTS ON THE CANCELLATION AND CIRCULATION OF COUNTERFEIT HALFPENCE

(Marcus Mayhugh)

I have within my collection of American-made Counterfeit British halfpence a small group of dregs which have accumulated over the years, and which I have labeled "Mutilated Machins" These coins have been pierced, gouged, sheared, holed, punched, smashed, and "X" marked. While I have maybe ten or so such pieces that were picked up along the way, I have seen a multitude of others. This sort of damage seems to be much more prevalent among the Machins series than in any other of the Confederation type coinage, quite possibly because they are reviled as being imitations of British halfpennies. The Massachusetts coppers were state sponsored, and the New Jersey coinage had legal tender status. Even the Connecticut and Vermont coppers were recognized as being produced in America, simply by their legends alone, although some of them were just as wretched and lightweight as the Machin products, many, actually being coined at Thomas Machin's Mills. The Machin halfpenny pieces appeared to the public only as underweight British copper, and were thus subject to the anger of merchants and the public as well. This is not to say that other Confederation coinage was not mutilated, it was, but the Machins seem to be defaced far out of proportion to other early American circulating coppers, and quite possibly even more so than the numerous non - American made counterfeit halfpence.

It would be a significant discovery to find documentation of a New York state sponsored cancellation of halfpence during the 1785-1795 period of American history. However, if such a cancellation policy did exist it would certainly provide a more uniform sort of defacement than the haphazard forms of mutilation found on these Machin pieces. In all probability, the offending coins were probably just melted down. The Monclair, New Jersey hoard, however, could have been just such a cancellation project. In this case, a hoard of coppers discovered in the American Numismatic Society Collection, and attributed by John Kleeberg, contained 27 Machin Mills coppers, seven of which have been defaced, cancelled, or otherwise damaged. Since the hoard was buried, and contained other early American coinage it was likely a group of coppers withdrawn because they failed to circulate. Interestingly enough, only the noted Machins were defaced, save for one holed Rosa Americana coin.[1]

The types of mutilation referred to above were, in all likelihood, some form of cancellation, but by whom was it done? Please forgive the conspiracy theory, but did someone, or some group, have it in for Machin's coppers, or did honest merchants simply cancel the offending coins to prevent further use of the underweight pieces? This would hardly seem to be the case, as the merchant would then incur the loss of that particular copper since the public would not be likely to accept a cancelled or mutilated coin. Plus, in time, the shopkeepers would have little trouble passing the spurious coin on. It also seems like a lot of effort to go to in order to remove a lowly piece of money from circulation. On the other hand, an irate citizen, may just take the time to cancel an

offending copper that a merchant refused to accept. Then again, he would also be assuring that he could not pass the copper on. An interesting anecdote appears in one of Francis Pierrepont Barnard's articles concerning the circulation of a counterfeit British halfpence in England. A halfpence relating its adventures has this to say:

> This morning a parish girl picked me up, and carried me to the Baker's shop to purchase a roll. The Master, who was a church-warden, examined me with great attention, and then gruffly threatening her with Bridewell for putting off bad money, knocked a nail through my middle, and fastened me to the counter: but the moment the poor hungry child was gone, whipt me up again, and sent me away with others in change to the next customer.[2]

Well, so much for honest shopkeepers. And a church-warden to boot!

One of the defaced Machins in my collection (V.3-71B) has a rather interesting cancellation. On the right side of the coin, a couple of millimeters from the edge, there is a long cut almost clear through the coin, nearly shearing off the edge of the piece (see Figure 1). Another Machin that might have received the full treatment was the V.8-74A which appeared in the 2000 C4 auction. This type of cancellation is described in a Michael Rhodes article, "A hoard of defaced Forged Halfpence of the Reign of George III:"

> All of the coins had cut into two pieces, sometimes more, by means of a powerful pair of shears. In a few instances, the cut was not completed. The coins were mostly cut to one side: presumably this was easier than cutting across the center.[3]

This type of cancellation describes the type on my V.3-71B. Since this coin probably never reached England the cancellation process described by Rhodes was most likely a universal cancellation.

Figure 1. Defaced Machin's Mill V.3-71B

Another known Machin coin which received a partial, or incomplete shearing was the V.1-47A which appeared in the Stack's 2009 Americana sale, lot 7471. It was described there as being cut from "the runt end of the strip!" It is my opinion that the damage to the coin was intentional and was post strike, in fact, an attempt at cancellation. (see Figure 2). However, why this coin would be defaced is unclear since it weighs a robust 161.8 grains, far exceeding the weight of a regal George II British halfpenny. If this coin is not the heaviest Machin on record, it would certainly be among them. (This particular Machin was from the Mike Ringo estate, where the cataloguer of the Stack's sale speculated that it was acquired after Mike had sold his collection in the 2000 C4 sale, yet on a copy of a 1990's Ringo inventory the same variety is listed in Good condition at 162 grains with 0° die alignment.[4] Since the Stack's coin was medal turn it is almost positive that it is the same coin and Mike kept it, for whatever reason, possibly because of it's unique weight.)

Figure 2. Defaced Machin's Mill V.1-47A

Rhodes says he does not understand why such a large group of counterfeit coins would be defaced (a total of 325) since they were tolerated in England as a "necessary evil."[5] He backs up his theory by quoting Craig's statement that the mint "accepted at face value halfpence of the 1719-1775 issues and such counterfeits as could not be excluded without skilled scrutiny."[6] He also explains that the mint records do not show what was done with fakes. In the end, Rhodes speculates that perhaps his defaced hoard was confiscated from a ship that had violated the 1798 statute for exporting false coin.

Despite Rhodes thoughts we do know that counterfeit halfpence were defaced in certain areas of Great Britain when they were confiscated. A good example appears in Baker's "History of Scarbourgh" which has this to say:

> 1781 Base coin: The Deputy Recorder informed the court that he had in his hands the nett sum of 1 pound, 16 s, 0d, Arising from the sale of eight stone and five pounds of base and counterfeit half-pence seized from David Estell,

> tailor, in the time Plaxton Dickenson and Jonas Sutton (1778), bailiffs and justices of the borough, after allowing 3s. For cutting and defacing.

Many more examples of this type of cancellation probably exist (some additional defaced Machin's Mill coppers are shown in Figure 3) and are recorded in individual town records as it appears the local magistrates were responsible for this type of action. The Old Bailey court records also present researchers with evidence of England's counterfeiting activities.

Sadly, America has little in the way of records detailing the cancellation of false halfpence. Scott, in his *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* fails to mention any type of cancellation, but does document that confiscated false halfpence were to be melted down and any profit given to the poor. Scott's description was given regarding the 1753 copper panic and was in reference to halfpence prior to that time, those of George II and William III. We can only hope some sharp-eyed researcher will one day dig up some concrete evidence on the canceling of coppers in America.

ENDNOTES

[1] Kleeberg,John. "Reconstructing The Beach-Grunthal Hoard Of Counterfeit Halfpence: The Montclair New Jersey (1922) Hoared" AJN Second series 7-8 (1995-96) The American Numusmatic Society.

[2] Bernard, Francis Pierpoint. "The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society. Fifth Series Vol. VI,1926, P.35.

[3] Rhodes, Michael. "A Hoard of Defaced Forged Halfpence of the Reign of George III" The British Numismatic Journal, Vol 59, 1990.

[4] List courtesy of Gary Trudgen.

[5] Rhodes, p. 215.

[6] Craig, John. "The Mint; A History of the London Mint From A.D. 287 to 1948", p. Cambridge, 1953.

[7] Meldrum, Philip T. " Mr. Clarke and The Counterfeit Coins: (A Sidelight on Numismatic History)" Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin, pgs.61-65. 1967 Vol.2.

Figure 3. Some Additional Examples of Defaced Machin's Mill Coppers

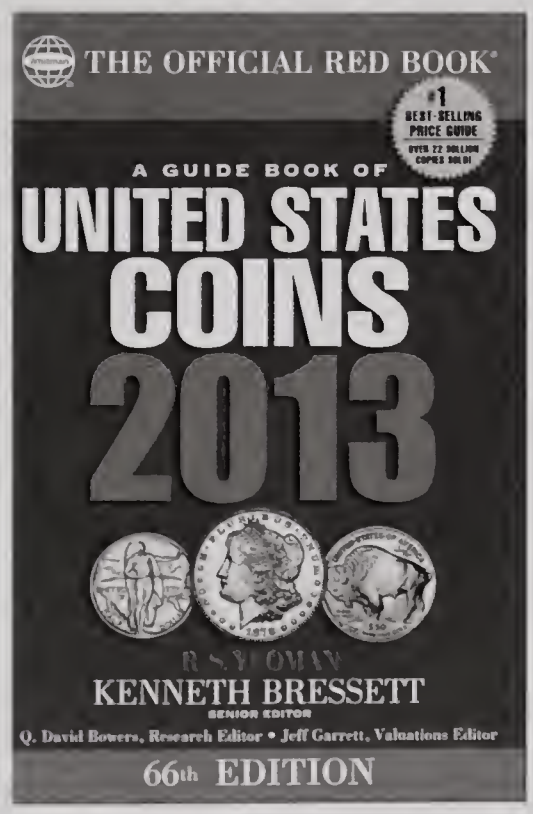
A WHOLE NEW GUIDEBOOK

(Jeff Rock)

For many years – heck, let's be honest, many decades – the popular "Redbook" of U.S. coins has been both a blessing and a royal-sized headache to collectors and dealers of colonial coins. For over 65 years, the good folks at Whitman Publishing have released an annual edition of *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, which still carries the author tag of R.S. Yeoman, though Yeoman himself retired over 40 years ago and the task of updating now falls to Kenneth Bresset as senior editor and Q. David Bowers as research editor. Both gentlemen are well known in our niche of the hobby, with over a half-century of activity for each of them in the colonial field.

Which, perhaps, is what made editions of the last few decades of the *Redbook* more disappointing than they should have been. With the kind of firepower available to these editors – contributors include colonial experts such as Richard August, Ron Guth, Steven Hayden, John Kraljevich, Julian Leidman, Roger Siboni, Anthony Terranova and the late Steve Tannenbaum – the *Redbook* could have gone from Good to REALLY Good without much effort.

And now it has:



The new, improved 2013 edition of the popular "Redbook" – a must for colonial collectors!

First, a bit of an introduction for those few collectors who have not seen or used a *Redbook* (though I doubt such a creature exists!). This book was not meant to be an

exhaustive reference for all areas of U.S. coinage – that would require at least several large, sturdy bookcases. It was meant to be a small, easily transportable volume that had a lot of information between its covers, could serve as an introduction to most areas of U.S. numismatics, including all areas of Federal U.S. coinage (with things like colonials, pioneer and territorial gold and some token issues covered in good detail, while other areas like errors and pattern coinage receiving at least brief exposure), all with some estimates of value. A brief historical synopsis introduced each major area and type, and illustrations were given of major type coins – again, not of every individual variety or even every year, but enough that a novice collector could easily find what he was looking for, with little effort.

As time went on, the size of each area grew, more and better photographs were added, and more historical background was given. By 2010 the colonial section (which includes colonials, pre-Federal issues, contract and pattern issues with coins, tokens and the occasional medal all covered) numbered just north of 50 pages, with exceptional full-color, high quality photographs finally replacing the somewhat grainy black-and-white photos of previous years.

Up until just a few years ago the only other single-volume reference covering colonials that was available was *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* – and since the *Redbook* is a fraction of the size, weight and price of that tome, guess which one got carted around more to coin shows! The release of the *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*, edited by Q. David Bowers (wonderfully resurrected from the ashes after a nearly 20-year hiatus), was fittingly called "a *Redbook* on steroids" since it combined the basic information in the *Redbook* (and borrowed some of the pricing of that volume) along with details on every variety of colonial (more or less). Breen's book had its share of errors and some unfounded assumptions, while the photos were all black and white and neither abundant enough nor of the highest quality. As in the *Redbook*, Breen was forced to limit the number of individual pieces listed and photographed (both for space and ease of use), so while his listings of a smaller series were often comprehensive (for instance, a great listing of Talbot, Allum & Lee varieties and mules), larger areas were often consolidated into "type" listings (for instance, a single Breen number could include 20 or 30 varieties of a Connecticut copper type). That made the "Complete" part of the title a bit of a misnomer, of course, but it was by far the best reference work available in the 1980's and 1990's.

The *Whitman Encyclopedia* escaped that fate since the publishing company and editor wanted it as complete as possible, though it too has a handful of errors, a few missing varieties and incorrect photos, and treats some areas as little more than type pieces (the Hibernia and Rosa Americana issues especially), while ignoring others completely (like French Colonies and contemporary counterfeit British halfpence), again more for reasons of space and ease of use. The *Redbook* is much smaller than the *Whitman Encyclopedia*, though – and it manages to cover <u>all</u> U.S. Federal coinage as well as other facets of American numismatics noted above.

OK, so the blessing part of the *Redbook* is easy to see – a reference that has a lot of data, pictures and covers the whole range of U.S. and colonial material is clearly something a beginning collector could pick up and from which he could learn a lot.

But what about the curse?

The biggest issue for specialists, of course, was the consolidating of pieces into single line type listings. While the *Redbook* is not a specialist's book (and never claimed to be one), some of the types listed made little sense, and others were left out completely. There's no easy workaround for that – it would triple the size (and price) of the book and be interesting to only a tiny fraction of the people who buy it...and open the floodgate to listing not just things like all Sheldon and Newcomb varieties of large cents, but die varieties of Lincoln Cents as well (and wouldn't that put you to sleep quickly). The best solution was to get as many true types listed, and let people learn about varieties as they got more involved in their collecting.

The other major complaint involved valuations. Some were very easy to solve – listing values in 3 grades for a coin that is unique was silly, and easily fixed. But other problems were more difficult, like trying to value a coin that is part of those consolidated types – the 1787 Draped Bust Left Connecticut copper entry could include both a Rarity-1 and a Rarity-8 variety, with a price differential of hundreds (or even thousands) of times as much between them. There was also the problem of the valuations that were used. When the *Redbook* first came out 66 years ago, the coin market was much different – values didn't change dramatically or quickly, and there were no distinctions in the various grades of Uncirculated and Proof. MS63 was still just a gleam in Dr. Sheldon's eye and a slab was a tombstone waiting to be engraved. That made it made it easier to give a fairly accurate idea of what something might cost at retail (the less popular Bluebook handled the same area but gave prices that dealers would generally be willing to buy which, of course, was always lower than what they needed as a selling price). If the *Redbook* said something was worth $50 you could, at that time, reasonably expect to pay somewhere in the $40-60 range for it, a bit less if it had some problems, a bit more if it was extremely choice for the grade. But you would not see it selling at auction for $150 (let alone $150,000).

The valuation problem with the *Redbook* of modern years is simply that few prices were anywhere near correct. As a dealer, I have said that I would love to be able to sell pieces for the values listed for half of the coins, while for the other half I would love to buy them at double the listed price. The problem was knowing which half was which!

Values of some extremely rare coins were given in terms of past auction records, few of which were recent (anyone think they can buy a Brasher doubloon for what it brought in the Garrett sale, for instance? Yet that was the only price listed for many years since the editors didn't want to "guess" what one might hypothetically bring if it came up for auction). The editors also had a fairly strict policy of limiting price increases for the colonial listings, and type prices weren't allowed to jump more than 10% or so from one edition to the next, which kind of defied what the colonial market was actually experiencing – and made it impossible for very undervalued listings to really ever catch up to their actual value on the open market. Finally, for good reason, the editors were loathe to drop prices dramatically once that value had been established – even if it was

one of those listings that were grossly overvalued, it was just left at that figure in the hope that the market would eventually catch up to the listed price.

The last decade or so saw very little change in the colonial section of each year's *Redbook*. Some prices were changed, but usually only if something very rare had a new auction record, the slate of John Ford sales forcing most of those changes. Prices for lower-to-middle grade pieces stayed mostly the same or saw modest increase. A few new types were added as they were discovered or achieved notable price results, such as the QVIESAT St. Patrick farthing legend error, as well as a few major types in other series that had been overlooked in previous editions.

Somewhat surprising for the staid and rather safe world of publishing, the 2013 (66th edition) of the *Redbook* has had a fundamental makeover in the colonial section. For the first time there is an introduction to collecting colonials (page 35) that puts things into the context of what was going to be found in circulation in the American colonies and early states. Whoever wrote this introduction (to my eyes it looks like Q. David Bowers) has a lot of experience with the field and knows that it could seem daunting to beginners, yet can still truthfully state that "despite their enormous historical importance, forming a basic collection of such items is not nearly as daunting as one might expect." The author further states that what follows in the 55 pages of listings is "fundamentally a major-type listing" and that "it is not encyclopedic in scope. Beyond the basic types are numerous sub-varieties of some issues, and a wide range of European coins" – a nod, perhaps, to the more encyclopedic approach in the same firm's *Whitman Encyclopedia* mentioned above, and something that was needed to clarify the field a bit for newer collectors.

This voice of experience concludes with the comment that some "collectors attempt to accumulate as many…as time and finances will permit. Some aim for the finest possible condition, while others find great enjoyment in pieces that saw actual circulation and use during the formative days of the country. There are no rules about how or what to collect other than to enjoy a genuine piece of early American history." Well said, indeed.

To their credit, the editors and contributors have taken a fresh look at the series, changing some confusing areas, clarifying distinct type coins and – finally! – adjusting prices to be more reflective of the current market. Thus, in one fell swoop the Redbook has been updated and made into something that is actually useful to both beginning and advanced collectors. While the historical text didn't change much (and didn't need to since each series had only a few paragraphs to introduce and put it into context and they were all well written already), many areas saw some changes worth noting. While listing every minor change for the whole 55-pages would take as long as the text itself, there are some changes worth noting and applauding (and all these changes added just 3 or 4 pages to the overall portion of the book actually devoted to colonials). Sections that aren't mentioned below didn't change other than modest pricing adjustments. There are also some areas that need just a bit more work to make them truly first-rate, which will be noted as well.

- The Sommer Islands section added a sixth grade level, AG, which is appropriate for an issue that often comes in that condition. Prices were adjusted slightly – both up and down – to adjust the values to the current market.

- The Massachusetts silver section also saw the addition of grade levels for the NE issues (EF and AU, though neither of those grades are seen too often). Some of the rarest pieces have auction records given, such as the Willow Tree threepence, and most listings had prices adjusted slightly (though even with citing an auction record for the Willow threepence, it remains unpriced in the actual text, a discrepancy that occurs in a few other series, like the Maryland penny which cites an AU auction record but doesn't price the issue above Fine (in earlier editions) and VF (in the current one), though it did correct the odd "PF" grade given that coin in earlier editions).

- The St. Patrick issues had no change other than a few prices – one suspects that once a reference work is written on the series the editors will choose to list a few more major types for farthings, which would be in keeping with other series that have a large numbers of varieties. The silver halfpenny remains unlisted, but since there is still just one known, in a museum, that may be a justified omission.

- While the Rosa Americana series was already well presented in terms of major types, the Hibernia series remains a bit short, especially considering that Syd Martin's wonderful reference work has been out a few years. A few more major types could certainly be listed including basic ones, like 1723 halfpence with and without a stop before HIBERNIA and 1724 farthings with and without stop after the date, as well as more esoteric pieces like the extreme rarity with the star in the legend and some of the pattern issues. Curiously, a major pricing error persists with the listing of the 1722 farthing, which is probably a pattern issue, only found in higher grades, yet here priced from VG to Unc (and if you can find a VG at the $425 price, many collectors and dealers would be more than happy to quadruple your money on it!). A few more photos could certainly help this section too, including an illustration of the listed DEII error and the 1724 with a continuous legends which might not be clear just from the written listing. An illustration of the pattern with the rocks at right would be nice – it's a striking design and so different from the other pieces in the series that it's worth listing (and unlike some of the other patterns in the series, this one is known in somewhat circulated grades). A note that there is more than one style of 1723/2 overdate would probably aid a beginning collectors who finds one that doesn't quite match the photograph given.

- The same condition-pricing error of the 1722 Hibernia farthing continues in the Voce Populi section, where the small letters farthing is priced from Good to EF, though really exists only in VF to AU grades (again, find one at the $850 valuation for a low grade specimen and you will make many multiples

of that price). Curiously, though none of this type have appeared for auction in decades, it saw some of the largest price cuts of any single coin, from one-half to two-thirds LESS than earlier editions. This writer suspects that if one does sell, those higher values are probably going to be what the pieces bring – if not substantially more!

- The French Colonies section remains sadly incomplete. Completely unlisted are the 1640 countermarked douzains or "Black Dogges" which were actually the most plentiful lower denomination coin in the new world for over a century after their striking. The same glaring omission for the later Recoined Sols issues pretty much ignores the entire early history of French Canada. The Sous Marques and Half Sous still merit just a line apiece with the notation "various mints" which is not very helpful (and really, stopping the Sous mintage year at 1760 instead of 1764 serves no purpose – even if those last 4 years the Louisiana territory was no longer French, the Sous would have still made it to Canada and from there down into parts of colonial British America). The 1720 6 Deniers copper issue remains listed for some obscure reason – and the piece illustrated is not a Paris Mint product which is what most consider colonial-relevant for this particular series. The problem with this listing started with the appearance of one in the Garrett sale that was mistakenly catalogued as a great rarity when, in fact, it is pretty common. This one should either be taken out completely – or mention should be made of the other "John Law" issues. All other years, mints and denominations of the "John Law" copper, silver and gold issues are unlisted – with the exception of the 1720-A Livres d'Argent which is listed as a 20 sols piece; but it has no photo, which causes needless confusion with the authorized 20 sols issues struck from 1718-1720 (many of which were overstruck by 1/6 Ecu dies from 1720 to 1722) and which are worth significantly less. The intro text on the 1717-1720 issues remains unclear, as there <u>was</u> a huge coinage of copper in that later year – the John Law pieces just mentioned – and this was surely not a "failed" second attempt.

One can quibble about not including a photo of either of the 1717-Q issues or of pricing the 12 Deniers of that year at roughly what the ONLY example sold in the last 50 years brought in an obscure sale – a quarter century ago! If one ever comes to auction it will undoubtedly set a new benchmark for valuation (this author's guess: somewhere between 7-10 times the previous sales price). On the plus side, the ridiculously low valuation for the 1721-B copper 9 deniers was doubled, bringing it into line with reality. Completely missing are the silver Ecus aux 8 L's and the gold pieces of 1724-1725 which were found on the wreck of the *Chameau* – a treasure ship bringing them specifically to circulate in French North America in 1725 – which makes them unquestionably colonial relevant and worth listing (just as much as the 1749 British farthing and halfpence which were sent over by England and are now listed in this edition). This section is probably the weakest in the entire *Redbook* – yet it is also one of the most complex areas of collecting and will

be difficult to list them in a brief, concise fashion that would also be understandable to a novice collector.

On to the state coinages.

- While the Massachusetts coppers section received just minor price adjustments, it was interesting to see prices in lower grades generally go up, while prices in Uncirculated generally went down – the sole exception being the Transposed Arrows which nearly doubled in value. These prices do better reflect the market, though there is still a stark differential between the various levels of Uncirculated and whether a coin is slabbed or not.

- Connecticut coppers almost uniformly saw price reductions in all grades, with just a few rarer types having increases from previous editions when prices were too low, like the 1786 Large Head variety. Other rare types remain way too low – does anyone really think you can buy a 1787-dated Hercules Head, even in low grade for $375? Well, maybe – unattributed, on e-bay, with a bad photo and a lot of good luck! Some Connec's had prices slashed nearly in half – though no quibbles here since the earlier prices were often way too high. A common 1787 Draped Bust Left variety in VF was never the $400 coin it was listed as in previous editions (and every dealer would have loved to sell them for anywhere near that level); the revised $250 quote is much more reasonable. One curious error held over is the listing of the 1787 Atlee-Connecticut mule which the *Redbook* describes as "reverse as below" when everything else below are 1788-dated coins (the 1788 dated mule is correctly listed); even worse is listing the 1787 piece in 3 grade levels, topping out at just $5,500 in Fine – good luck finding one at 10 times the listed price.

- On New York issues, the Brasher Doubloons roughly doubled, in keeping with recent valuations, yet the "Lima Style Brasher" is listed at about 10% the value of the other Brashers; with just two known, it would surely bring substantially more than the listed price today. While the Brasher countermarks on foreign gold pieces are listed, it would be nice to have some mention of the regulated gold issues of other gold and silversmiths working in early America (though it may be too difficult to get the difference between regulated gold coinage and random countermarks across in such a short space). The tricky area of counterfeit British halfpence and the "Machin's Mills" imitations got a much-needed revision and expansion, more than doubling in length. For the first time the 1749 British regal farthing and halfpence are listed as having colonial importance, almost certainly due to the research and writing of John Kraljevich. Both regal and counterfeit halfpence are also listed (though curiously only British (not Irish) and only halfpence (not farthings), yet we know counterfeit Irish halfpence circulated here since they show up as undertypes on some state coinages, especially Vermont coppers). While a dozen more pages couldn't do justice to the counterfeit halfpence series, the illustrations showing the differences between regal and non-regal are not as

accurate as might be hoped for since there is a large variation in style and quality that do not mesh with the attributes listed. Still, this section serves the incredibly useful purpose of finally showing that not everything with a GEORGIVS III REX and BRITAN NIA legend is automatically a Machin's Mill/Atlee issue – one can only hope this cuts down the number of "Extremely Rare Unlisted Machin's" pieces offered on eBay which are nearly always nothing more than counterfeit (and occasional regal!) British halfpence. The Machin's Mills/Atlee listing itself has been expanded and made much clearer, with the difference between the three groups described directly under the illustrations, a particularly useful move. The 1787 listing now includes both Group II and Group III pieces, also useful. The 1776 small date is now listed as GEORCIVS instead of CEORCIVS (probably a typo), no big deal since most will never see one. The 1784 remains listed even though current scholarship shows it not to be related to the Machin's issues at all and possibly not even American-made – but old habits die hard, especially when an expensive coin is to be removed from the listings! Curiously though, the 1777-dated issue which has also been delisted as a Machin's product remains unlisted in the *Redbook*, but <u>was</u> listed in the *Whitman Encyclopedia* (albeit with a very incorrect photograph of an evasion copper). Those minor problems will surely get fine-tuned in subsequent editions.

- The New Jersey coppers section saw the most useful editorial changes, probably under the guidance of ANS President and noted New Jersey collector Roger Siboni (and one hopes a diehard Connecticut specialist will soon do the same for that series as well). A few major types have been added, including the 1787 "pattern shield" (i.e. Maris 6-C which shares a reverse die with several pattern coppers), the Protruding Tongue, the PLUKIBUS and PLURIRUS reverse errors, the "WM Hidden in sprig," 1787 Goiter, 1788 Braided Mane, and Running Fox After Legend types rounding out the list of "new" types that specialists had always pursued. Just as useful were the deletion of some things like wide and narrow shields for some types and the "Outlined Shield" type that no one could really figure out since it was a trait shared by many varieties. Unfortunately, probably an editing error, two major 1787 types were left out completely – large and small planchet "plain shield" listings that will probably confuse some collectors trying to compare their 1787-dated pieces with the major types of the year that are listed and not finding a match. Again, the pricing has been revised to better reflect market reality, though some are still off base (ANY Date Under Plow Beam is going to bring more than $75,000 in Fine, for instance – but one hasn't sold publicly in so long that it would be hard to guess just what it would bring). The revisions in this section alone make the book worth obtaining and are a useful template to changes that could be made to other sections in future editions.

- The post-Confederation token section remains the same except for minor pricing changes. It would be nice to have some mention of the Talbot, Allum & Lee token struck in silver and the many mules with the 1794 and 1795

TA&L obverse dies – even though they didn't circulate (but neither did the Myddleton token, Theater at New York medal and various Washington pieces which ARE listed). The same goes for the Auctori Plebis mules (which are fewer in number and though rightfully evasion coppers have been collected by colonial enthusiasts since Crosby first mentioned them in 1875). No mention is made of original Castorland pieces in bronze with perfect dies, and there is a unique brass striking (ex- Garrett) that should be listed as well (though perhaps a brass listing would be confusing since few inexperienced collectors can tell the difference between toned brass and copper – we note the various colonial Washington pieces known in brass remain unlisted as well, and that may be the reason why).

- The Washington, Fugio and pattern issues remain essentially unchanged other than pricing. While one could quibble over adding a few things like the unique white metal Washington Liverpool halfpenny (which has a different reverse and is thus a distinct type), the silver scalloped-edge Success token and a few other exotica, the only thing probably really needed is a mention of the so-called pattern Fugios, which could probably be done in a sentence within the text for the New Haven restrikes – and even then, perhaps not too necessary since almost no one will ever see these things outside of a major auction where, of course, they would be described in detail.

Just as an aside, it's worth mentioning that at the recent ANA Convention in Philadelphia, I noticed that many of the dealers who had colonial material in stock all had a copy of the new *Redbook* at their table – and I saw at least a half dozen copies opened and used during the show! That's really a telling comment on the utility of the new version of this work.

All in all, the 2013 edition of the *Redbook* makes some incredibly useful changes. The editors have taken the bold step of remaking a classic – and in the process changing it from something venerated but seldom-used into something that the average collector will surely refer to again and again (and even the advanced collector will use just to view the vastly improved photographs which often depict the nicest examples of major types that could be found). Kudos are due to the editors and contributors for these changes – and with a bit more updating in the next few editions, this is a book that will be useful for future generations to come.

COLONIAL WHIMSY

(Kayla Schlemmer)

Many years ago, William Sheldon wrote his seminal work on large cents called Penny Whimsy. From time to time, I reread his First Chapter: Introducing the Big Cents, where he talked about a cigar box of old coppers which he would "study and try to make out." I'm always trying to make something out of coins as well, mostly with limited success.

He used the word "whimsy" to denote the lighthearted nature his writing the book. In this discussion, I use "whimsy" to characterize the lighthearted production of certain coppers by colonial era coiners and "Whimsy" to denote the products of such efforts. My article is meant to have a lighthearted approach, with few certainties or hard statistics.

Colonial Whimsy coppers could be characterized in a number of forms. Evasion coppers are a form of whimsy with their often-satirical lettering poking fun at the King or other targets. How about retooled "What's Its" (often seen in auction sales with the State Coinage) which are altered Colonials which result in fantasy pieces? Punctured coppers for whissers (also could be made with buttons) could be Whimsies. Also certain counterstamped coins and love tokens may be described as Whimsies. The focus of this discussion is production of Whimsy colonial pieces produced using the coining equipment at a mint.

NON-WHIMSY OVERSTRIKES

Early on, J.C. Spilman discussed multiple overstrikes or (MOS) in *The Colonial Newsletter*, first concerning Fugios (May 1971, p. 321) and later for Connecticuts (December 1974, p. 461). What he calls MOSs, I simply call multiple strikes as they were the same set of dies. He developed a classification system that categorized MOSs as Type A, B, BB, C or CC. These included various combinations of double strikes with in some case, brockages or partial brockerages. The numismatic student will find his system interesting but it never found wide usage in the collecting community. In his article on MOS Connecticuts, he said "All in all, when the relative physical placement of MOSs and the various backing pieces are taken into account and considered in terms of striking sequence and other appropriate factors, it quickly becomes apparent that the majority of MOS specimens illustrated here must have been intentionally produced rather than being the result of a coinage accident. We can even speculate that some of these specimens may have been **produced in a competitive spirit to determine which coiner could manufacture the most unusual design**." [Emphasis mine.] This thought mirrors my concept of a Colonial Whimsy.

However, he quickly reversed his position concerning most MOSs (*CNL*, January 1976 p. 515) where he stated "Our study of these MOS Connecticut specimens has resulted.....in

the conclusion that these specimens and similar specimens...**exhibit conclusive evidence that they are result of coinage accidents."** [Emphasis mine.] See Figure 1.

Figure 1. Spilman specimens 1, 3, and 5 – he first thought these to be purposeful MOSs, but subsequently reversed his opinion.

As the collecting community became more knowledgeable about the coining process of the late 1700s we accepted this premise. Most double strikes, triple strikes and brockages appear to be coinage errors. Spilman did however, in seeming contradiction, produce the most extraordinary example of an MOS (his specimen #8) – seemingly a purposeful Whimsy.

EXAMPLE OF A MULTIPLE STRIKE WHIMSY

Spilman's specimen #8 (Figure 2) is a Connecticut M 5.2-I 1786 quadruple struck in a balanced pattern with the two major strikes offset approximately 50% and the two next strikes producing dates. He suggested that these last two strikes created tabs that were then hammered back down to create a near round coin. I received correspondence that "This specimen was discovered by John M. Richardson and first published and illustrated in the *Numismatic Scrapbook*, March 1941, p. 171. He referred to it as his "pet freak." At the time of *CNL* article in January 1976, Richard Picker owned it and it was offered in Stack's "Richard Picker" sale October 24, 1984 as Lot# 171. It sold for $1,760 into a NJ collection where it is believed to still reside today. While there is a possibility

that chance could have produced this coin; the symmetry and subsequent re-rounding of the coin appear to be purposeful and as such, the product of a coiner's whimsy. Few other examples of MOSs are as convincing of whimsical intent.

Figure 2. Lot 171 of the Picker Sale – Spilman's Specimen #8

CONSIDERATIONS IN DETERMINING WHETHER A COIN IS A WHIMSY

To find purposeful MOSs, I developed the following possible clues that might indicate that an overstrike was produced as a whimsy:

1. Symmetry – Coins which exhibit a 180° second strike turn may show intent. Other geometric turns may also exist. Coins which are turned exactly 90° for the second strike or with three strikes at 60° separation or four strikes at 90° separation are other examples. Beyond those parameters, it would be difficult to suggest intent.

2. Interesting result – If the coin produced has a weird or funny effigy or resultant legends, it might be intentional. Such examples might include a nonregal halfpenny with an arm where Britannia's head should be, a coin exhibiting multiple dates as in a flip-over with dates on both sides, a Britannia with two heads opposite of each other and one body (like a Topsy Turvy Doll – Figure 3), or the like.

3. Patterns- Like Specimen #8, well-executed patterns can show intent. Not only is there a pattern but it produces a symmetrical result.

Figure 3. A Topsy Turvy Doll – some Whimsies have been made to resemble such a configuration.

4. Many strikes – Does an unusually high number of strikes suggest intent? How many would indicate possible intent? If a coin jammed in the dies, I would assume there would be no doubling or would be a chatter-strike at best. A coin exhibiting many strikes would need to continue to flop around in the dies in different positions by accident a number of times. I know of many triple strike coins but few coins with strikes beyond 3. Two triple struck examples are shown in Figures 4 and 5.

Figure 4. Triple-struck 1788 Machin's Mill. Note the second "S" on the obverse, the vertical doubling of the date, and the large vertical doubling of the pole arm. (KPS Collection)

Figure 5. Triple-struck Connecticut M33.7-r.2 (Robert Martin Collection).

5. Rarity of MOS occurrence. Nonregal coppers, and state coinage are all known with MOSs. They are relatively common and appear to be the result of the manufacturing process used during this time period, which included some type of mechanical planchet feeding and product conveyance after the strike. This permitted double feeds, double strikes and in some cases several strikes of a coin. When a particular type or variety of coin is known with a significant number of MOS examples, there is a likelihood that some accidental MOSs may appear to be Whimsies without actual intent.

POSSIBLE WHIMSIES?

I provide the following coins for your consideration. Are these Colonial Whimsies? See if you agree with my conclusions. (See Figures 6 – 10).

Figure 6. The Arm Head – While the obverse is fairly normal, with just a hint of reverse brockerage on the obverse near 6 o'clock, the reverse has a dramatic doubling producing an arm where the head should be. There is an approximate rotation of 25°. It's an interesting result, but lacks symmetry, shows only two strikes and is not necessarily a pattern. Conclusion: Nice but not a Whimsy. [KPS Collection]

Figure 7. Simple double strike with 25% offstrike and 30° rotation. Conclusion: Not a Whimsy. [KPS Collection]

Figure 8. Boar Face – Definitely interest result, no rotation, offstrike is 10-15%. It could be a whimsy but more likely an accident. [KPS Collection]

Figure 9. Double struck 1652 Pine Threepence (Noe 36). This is definitely an interesting result with a geometric 90 degree turn. The technology available to Massachusetts coiners in the 1600s did not include auto-feeding equipment on coin presses. These were hand coined. The coiner would have to have turned the coin between strikes or somehow the coin was twice pressed in two completely separate incidents by error. This coin is probably a Whimsy, but it still is an iffy one. [Robert Martin Collection]

Figure 10. Double strike Irish 1775 Nonregal. This is definitely an interesting result with a geometric 90 degree turn. The obverse head is a Janus like profile or more similar to a Yin & Yang symbol. The alignment is almost exact 180 and appears purposeful. Based on the interesting result and symmetrical alignment this coin is likely a Colonial Whimsy. [Jeff Rock Collection]

Those are but a few examples of the typical MOSs I am aware of, including New Jerseys, Connecticuts, Nonregals and Machin's Mills. Most that I've owned or have seen appear to be non-Whimsies. I have found just a few other coppers which possibly

compare to Specimen #8 in terms of likelihood of whimsical intent on the part of the coiner.

NON-WHIMSY OVERSTRIKES

I have long been interested in coins with overstrikes where a die of one coin type/variety is overstruck atop a coin made from a different coin type/variety. Such overstrikes could involve coins of the same type (e.g., a New Jersey struck over a different NJ variety) or completely different types (e.g., a New Jersey struck over a Connecticut copper). The first New Jersey I purchased was a M34-J overstruck on an unknown Connecticut. The arm holding the branch of the Connecticut reverse shows prominently in the New Jersey's reverse shield. Such overstrikes are common in several of the colonial series due to the economic incentive to overstrike less valuable coppers with dies of higher valued coppers. As Phillip Mossman discusses in *Money of the American Colonies & Confederation*, p. 227, the practice was common to overstrike New Jerseys over Connecticuts at the NJ Elizabethtown and Machin's Mill mints after June 1789. Certain varieties of New Jerseys such as the 34-J, 34-v, 56-n and 73-aa are known for their many overstrikes. Examples of two non-whimsy overstrikes are shown in Figures 11 and 12. The example of Figure 11 is actually an overstrike of an overstrike!

Figure 11. A NJ 34-v over a NJ 34-J over a Vermont (R-16 Possibly) – from the Picker Sale, 24 October 1984, Lot #207.

Figure 12. A Connecticut over a Nova Constellatio, from Stack's Americana Sale, 24 January 2012.

Other overstrikes involve NJs over Nonregals, Vermonts over Nonregals and Novas, and a couple of other oddments such as Nonregals over Mail Coach Trade Tokens and (rarely) Nonregals over Nonregals.

NONREGAL OVERSTRIKES

It appears that Nonregals over host coins are rare. Since Nonregals are counterfeits, often with limited value, there was little economic incentive to transform other coins into them. Nonregal overstrikes are not to be found over state coinage for the obvious reason that Nonregals were mostly made in England rather that the US, (I don't consider Machin's Mills counterfeit halfpennies as Nonregals for this discussion).

Three examples of Nonregal overstrikes are:

Figure 13. From *Forgotten Coins of North American* by Anton/Kesse, AK #1 is a 1777 Farthing over a 1773 Half Penny.

Figure 14. From *Forgotten Coins of North American* by Anton/Kesse, AK #61 is is a Geo II over an Irish 1766.

Figure 15. From *Forgotten Coins of North American* by Anton/Kesse, AK #26 is a Nonregal over an English Mail Coach Token.

An informal survey of the Nonregal Yahoo group resulted in a few more examples:

Figure 16. Simian Geo III over an Unknown Foreign Host [Rickie Rose Collection]

Figure 17. An Irish 1769 Halfpenny over an English Geo III Halfpenny. [Byron Weston Collection]

The Weston piece is similar to the Rose piece in that the host coins were likely included in a batch of planchets, perhaps (most likely) inadvertently. They are not specially oriented over the host coin; rather, their strikeover appears to be made as the coin came to lie in the dies during the feed process. These are Non-Whimsy Overstrikes.

NONREGAL WHIMSY OVERSTRIKES

Whimsy Overstrikes are similar to Whimsy MOSs in that they were purposeful intentions and done as an act of fancy. To qualify as a Whimsy Overstrike a coin would be judged by the same criteria:

1. Symmetry
2. Interesting result
3. Patterns
4. Number of Strikes
5. Rarity of Overstrike occurrence

These factors logically form a framework for consideration of whether a given overstrike is a Whimsy.

I submit several coppers for your consideration as possible Nonregal Overstrike Whimsies (see Figures 18, 19, and 20):

Figure 18. 1731 George II over a 1732 George II. The coin in question is a 1731 George II halfpenny struck over a 1732 George II halfpenny. Alignment of the two strikes is at 180° while both coins were made coin turn. The effect on the obverse is a merged profile which the forehead and front hair prominent as well as showing both hair ribbons. Both IIs show, as well as one complete Georgivs. An R from REX also shows. The reverse is quite interesting with both dates on opposite ends of the coin. The Britannia figure is a two-headed freak joined at the waist like a Topsy Tervy Doll! The four arms show to varying degree. What is the likelihood this coin is a Whimsy? It is symmetrical with each set of dies aligned 180°. Given that correct opposite alignment would be considered with a total of a 5 degree shift to either sector, the chance of a random alignment would be 10° in 180° or 5.55%. It is certainly an interesting result with the mirrored George and Britannia on each side. The result of the overstrike is a symmetrical pattern. Finally, as suggested before, overstrikes of Nonregals over other coppers are fairly rare. The subject is likely a Whimsy in this case. [KPS Collection]

Figure 19. 1771 Irish Nonregal over a 1775 English Nonregal. Here we have another Overstrike with alignment of the two strikes is a 180 degree turn on the obverse. The effect on the obverse is a merged opposite profile with the forehead and front hair prominent as well as showing both hair ribbons. Both a II & III show, as well as one partial Georgivs merged into the REX so that the legend reads REXIVS. The reverse is also quite interesting with both dates, one above the other. Only the 71 from the Irish 1771 shows. The English 1775 is complete. The Irish appears to be medal turn with the English undertype is coin turned so that while the obverses are inverse of each other, the reverses are aligned at approximately the same direction. Perhaps the reverse alignment is within 10 degrees of 180 degrees. The Harp appears to have arms from the English undertype. What is the likelihood this coin is a Whimsy? It is symmetrical with obverse set of dies aligned 180 degree and reverse in approximate straight alignment. The Obverse 180 degree alignment appears purposeful. It is certainly an interesting result with the mirrored George on the obverse and Britannia and Harp merged as one entity (a harp with arms). The result of the overstrike is a symmetrical pattern. Finally, as suggested before, overstrikes of Nonregals over other coppers are fairly rare. The subject is likely a Whimsy in this case as well. [KPS Collection]

75691JRR
Young Head, overstruck on 1790's Conder Token
Middlesex 784
Spence's "Marine Society Boy"

Figure 20. English Nonregal 1775 over a Spence Condor Token. On the obverse the condor undertype lettering shows merged with the overtype's lettering. The George head is strong but for the upper face. The reverse is more interesting with the "boy's head' in place of Britannia's Head so that she/he is looking back. The affect is extraordinary. Again the lettering merged with the beginning of Britannia changing to Marine Society so that it reads, "BRITARINE SOCIETY". What is the likelihood this coin is a Whimsy? Symmetry is not involved with this coin as its obverse shows little of the undertype central devise. The reverse aligns the overtype to perfectly replace the head of the overtype with the undertype. How this was accomplished is a question. The area of weak overstrike on the reverse is from 11:00 o'clock to 3:00 o'clock. It is certainly an interesting result with the seated Britannia figure looking back over her shoulder. The fact THAT this odd uneven striking was produced may point to intent. Finally, as suggested before, overstrikes of Nonregals over other coppers are fairly rare. The subject is likely a Whimsy in this case as well. [Jeff Rock Collection]

SUMMARY

While my familiarity with MOSs and overstrikes spans some 30 years, I can find very few that are likely colonial Whimsies. While we can never be completely sure that a colonial copper is a whimsy, there are several factors we can consider that can suggest which are and which are not such purposeful playful mint artifacts. The few we found were likely produced on two different continents showing that having "fun" at the mint was not an isolated phenomenon. The hunt for whimsies continues. If you have any suspects please let me know.

Kayla Schlemmer (kschlemm@comcast.net)

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COINS CAN TELL A STORY

(Ray Williams)

Although the coin pictured below may not be very pretty, it does have an interesting story to tell. This corroded coin was struck by the authority of the State of Connecticut in 1787. At some time early in its history, it was again struck with a punch resulting in a counterstamp "IC". It entered circulation and began a long voyage. It made its first transatlantic crossing aboard a multi-masted sailing vessel, and after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived in England. Not too long after reaching England, it was lost on the banks of a river. After being buried for about 200 years, it was found by a treasure hunter using a metal detector.

The coin was then photographed and placed for sale on eBay. With the sale, the coin started its second transatlantic crossing. It was deposited in the British postal system, boarded a jet aircraft and arrived back in the US in a matter of hours! The US Post Office then took possession and delivered it to Trenton via ground transportation, where it rests today.

Although the coin has finished its current journey, it will someday take another trip to a new owner, who I hope will keep this story going... Imagine the stories the coins in your collection can tell...

THE "NOTCH NOSE" VARIETY IN THE GEORGIVS TRIUMPHO FAMILY OF COUNTERFEIT HALFPENCE (SPALLING WARTS TAKE THEIR TOLL)

(Roger A. Moore, M.D. and John W. Louis)

INTRODUCTION: As the study of counterfeit halfpence progresses, certain observations about both Families[1] of these coins, as well as specific varieties come to light. One Family of counterfeit halfpence was named the Georgivs Triumpho Family by Mike Ringo due to similarities of the die punches used to make the legends and the obverse central device among a number of counterfeit halfpence and the actual Georgivs Triumpho Token.[2, 3] One variety of the many that exists within the Georgivs Triumpho Family of counterfeit halfpence is the so called "notch nose" variety due to the presence of a distinct and obvious notch on the bridge of King George III's nose. However, the appearance of a new coin in a group lot of counterfeit halfpence once belonging to Mike Ringo[4], allows a better understanding of the true nature of the cause for what at first glance seems to be a notch.

NOTCH NOSE AND RELATED VARIETIES: Figure 1 shows the typical obverse of the notch nose Georgivs Triumpho Counterfeit halfpence Family member mated with a 1771 reverse..

FIGURE 1 – 1771 Georgivs Triumpho notch nose Family member (wt. – 105 gr., dia. - 27 mm, coin turn)

The notch nose obverse is also mated to a 1774 reverse, as shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2 – 1774 Georgivs Triumpho notch nose
Family member (wt. – 107.7 gr., dia. – 26.5 mm, coin turn)

One will notice the seriously deteriorated reverse die used to produce the 1774 reverse and yet, in spite of the 1771 and 1774 coins being dated 2 years apart, no additional deterioration is noted in the obverse dies between 1771 and 1774. Interestingly there is a different Georgivs Triumpho Family member with a different obverse that shares the exact same 1771 reverse, as shown in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3 - 1771 Georgivs Triumpho Family member sharing the same reverse as the 1771 notch nose variety (wt. - 116.3 gr., dia. - 27.3 mm, coin turn).

Finally, a 1774 dated Georgivs Triumpho counterfeit halfpenny of the exact same variety as the notch nose but without the notch is known to exist as shown in Figure 4. The presence of this coin tells us that damage of some sort occurred to the die after it had

been used for a while, leading to the formation of the notch. The 1774 dated coins without the notch seem to be rarer than those with the notch. In addition, if one compares the reverse of the 1774 coin in Figure 2 with the reverse made from the same die in Figure 4, one can easily see that significant die deterioration had occurred between the time the undamaged obverse and the notch nosed obverse were struck.

FIGURE 4 – The Georgivs Triumpho counterfeit halfpenny shown is the exact same variety as the 1774 notch nose but without the notch.

NOTCH NOSE or WART NOSE?: Until the appearance of a new coin in the recent sale of a group lot of coins once belonging to Mike Ringo,[4] the story concerning the notch nosed variety of the Georgivs Triumpho counterfeit halfpence would seem to have been closed. However, as with much of the study surrounding counterfeit halfpence, new discoveries are occurring nearly daily. In the case of the notch nosed variety, one of the 40 coins in lot 1261 was in a flip labeled in Mike Ringo's hand writing – "Wart-Nose." During lot viewing it became evident that this was an important coin for determining the origins of the notch in the notch nose. The coin is shown in Figure 5 and is the exact same 1774 variety as seen in Figure 2 but with the proviso that on the obverse, rather than a notch, a single prominent wart-like growth is present at the tip of the nose. The other remarkable observation is the die state of the reverse lies somewhat intermediate between the die state of the coin having no obverse nose abnormality (Figure 4) and one with the complete notch shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 5 – 1774 notch nose variety showing a single wart-like protrusion at the tip of the nose. (wt. – 125.1 gr., dia. – 26.5 mm. coin turn)

CAUSE OF THE DIE DAMAGE: Prior to finding the coin shown in Figure 5, there were two schools of thought on how this abnormal notch might have been produced. Some considered the notch as having been formed by some mishap to the die, leading to a notch-like defect in the die affecting the nose. The other school held that rusting of the die had occurred, leading to erosion in the area over the nose to produce this defect. The latter idea of die rust seemed to make more sense since it appeared that the defect was actually an extension off the bridge of the nose rather than being a defect in the nose itself. The finding of the coin with a single protrusion at the tip of the nose, however, indicated that there was a progression of the damage to the die that provided further weight to the idea of progressive damage from die rust. However, discussions of die rust on the Yahoo internet-based non-regal research group provided insight that die rust is an unlikely source for die deterioration.[5] Rather, the reason for the die deterioration is most likely due to slight imperfections in the metal of the die that increase in size as minting occurs – a term called "spalling" – when applied to the flaking of bricks when water enters the brick surface over time. A nice example of extensive spalling is shown in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6 – Evidence of extensive damage to the dies used to make this 1769 counterfeit Irish halfpenny – most likely the result of flaking of the die surface with use, called "spalling".

DIE PROGRESSION: What is interesting about the notch nose variety is that perfect unblemished obverse and reverse dies are dated 1774 while the single nose tip wart as well as the notch which is made up of two wart like projects are also dated 1774. One could therefore surmise that the obverse die was put into use without any defect in either the obverse or reverse dies. As minting progressed the imperfection in the obverse die first appeared at the tip of King George III's nose while at the same time the reverse die began to deteriorate. Finally, when the second wart-like projection appeared leading to a notch nose appearance, the reverse 1774 reverse die utterly failed. (see Figure 7)

Die State 1 Die State 2 Die State 3

FIGURE 7 – Progression of die metal breakdown shown with an undamaged die in the first image, damage only at the tip of the nose in the second, and the additional damage giving a notched nose appearance in the third image.

The only fly in this supposition is the presence of 1771 dated coins having the late die state obverses with a full notch. The authors think this is good evidence that the counterfeiting operation, when faced with a failed reverse die, used another die that was at hand to continue the minting – in this case the replacement die that was selected was dated two years earlier.

CONCLUSIONS: The so-called notch nose variety of the Georgivs Triumpho counterfeit halfpence Family does not actually have a notched nose but rather two projections due to damage to the die from spalling. The true nature of the notch became evident when a coin with a single wart-like projection came to the attention of the authors. A plate for attributing these coins is provided in Plate 1.

REFERENCES:

[1] Schettino, C., Weston, B., Spilman, J., Trudgen, G.; "The Categorization of Counterfeit British & Irish 1/2d & 1/4d of George II & III - A Preliminary Progress Report on Family Groups & Subgroups;" The Colonial Newsletter Foundation, Inc; 2002.

[2] Ringo M., "The Georgivs Triumpho Token," *The Colonial Newsletter*, July 1995, No. 100, sequential pages 1515 – 1520.

[3] Moore. R., "Revisiting Mike Ringo's Paper on the Georgivs Triumpho Token or Treasure Hunting in the Middle of Philadelphia," *The Colonial Coin Collectors Club Newsletter,* Winter 2011, pp. 5-7.

[4] Stack's Bowers Galleries, Baltimore Auction, 6-28-2012, lot 1261.

[5] nonregalresearch@yahoogroups.com, Communication from Ray Williams on July 15, 2012: Mr. Williams discussed what he had learned at the 2012 Summer ANA Symposium given by Erik Goldstein and John Kraljevich. Much of the die damage seen on many colonial coins that has previously been attributed to "die rust" is actually due to imperfections in the die steel that become larger as minting progresses – called spalling.

NOTCH NOSE GEORGIVS TRIMPHO FAMILY MEMBERS

A (EDS)

74A (EDS)

A (MDS)

74A (MDS)

A (LDS)

71A

DIFFERENT GT OBV

74A (LDS)

PLATE 1

THE JERSEY ENIGMA

(Spencer Peck)

Revisiting an article that appeared in the January, 1991 issue of PennyWise, the official publication of Early American Coppers, Inc.

The November, 1990 Bowers and Merena Chris Schenkel Sale[1] contained one lot, #5485, a Maris 60P, among the Jersey Coppers offered which piqued my interest. My curiosity was aroused by Michael Hodder's footnote that this piece was rimmed, the first he had ever seen. The Auction session itself was attended by many numismatic notables, among them Bill Anton, Charles Davis, Michael Hodder, Bruce Kesse, John Lorenzo, Scott Rubin and Bob Vlack (who happened to be sitting next to me). The session moved along with generally strong prices realized (for that time, but cheap in retrospect now). The high point was Lot 5367, Jaazianiah Crosby's gold-pommelled cane, monogrammed with the initials "JC." Bob Vlack won this lot to cries of "You need it more than we do;" "Wait until they bring out his wheelchair" and other good-natured ribbing, at Bob's expense. I thought I'd memorialize this incident as a bit of "Numistrivia" for future generations of readers.

Back to the 60P; it occurred to me that rimming or milling machines are a rather specialized, and thus scarce item, especially in the Pre-Federal period. It also occurred to me that only the U.S. Mint would have a need and use for such a device, since the gang at Machins Mills were busy re-stamping coppers. Would it be possible that this piece is a surviving milling machine "Trial Piece" from the initial days of the Philadelphia Mint's operation? New Jersey is about as close to Philadelphia as you can get. This speculation prompted a brief review of the literature, which revealed the following:

> Taxay: "According to Boudinot's report of February 2, 1795, the Mint possessed only one milling machine which was operated by a single hand."[2]
>
> Breen: [Speaking about Voight's Chain Cent design of March, 1793] "Unlike later Cents prior to 1909, the border consists of a plain raised lip without beading. Because this plain border either did not strike up too well, or wore down too fast, or both, beads had to be added to the Wreath Cent dies, even as too the Half Cents. Without it, the coins most likely would not stack; a frequent complaint at any change of design even in recent years.[3]
>
> Crosby: "[I]t appears from a paragraph in the Newburyport, Mass Herald of July 16, 1792, that the opinion then prevailed that Jacob Perkins was to be the Superintendent of the United States Mint. We know that he was employed in making dies for the Mint of Massachusetts, and it may be that he was concerned in the preparation of some of the patterns described in this chapter; but of this we have no proof. The following is the article alluded to:
>
> Several newspapers of the past and present week have prematurely mentioned that Mr. Perkins of this town as being sent for to Philadelphia for the purpose of Superintending the coinage there. Mr. Perkins' abilities in that line are fully

> adequate to such an appointment, as the specimens he has exhibited in that line amply testify. Instead of the former method of performing the business he has invented a new machine, which cuts the metal into such circular pieces as are wanted, and gives the impression at the same time. its motion is accelerated by a balance wheel, and more than one third of the time and labor thereby saved. **He has also constructed another machine, for milling or lettering the edge, by which a boy can mill sixty a minute."**[4] (Emphasis added.)

Would it be possible to speculate that Mr. Perkins, when called to Philadelphia, took a fast packet down Long Island Sound to New York (probably in late August or September, after the Yellow Fever season had passed); he could also have traveled by stage coach down the Boston Post Road, but it would have been a gut-wrenching ride---- thence the ferry to Perth Amboy, and finally a stage ride following the Post Road to New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and ultimately Philadelphia? Would it also be possible to speculate that Perkins, in his travels across "The Jerseys," might have obtained and put aside a few of the Jersey Coppers then in circulation in that place? And lastly, would it not be reasonable to assume that Perkins, obviously a skilled mechanic, would want to save some examples of his work by putting aside a few examples from the trial of his machine???

It is pure speculation on my part, for no one can ever truly know whether this particular Jersey Copper was in fact a trial setup piece used by Perkins for his Milling machine, sometime in late 1792 or early 1793. This piece saw little if any circulation after it was rimmed, as the rims remain sharp and the coin itself not damaged or worn to any significant extent. As to the notion that the rimming may have taken place sometime later, in the 1800's or 1900's for example, I would reply that this could be; but if so, then the toning, especially on the rim, should differ to some greater or lesser extent from that of the "Parent" coin itself. This is not the case, as this piece exhibits an even, "old cabinet" toning throughout.

About six months after this article appeared, the phone rang. It was Eric Newman, who had just caught up on his reading. Eric indicated that he had seen only one rimmed Colonial in his career – an Albany Church Penny in his collection. And subsequent to this article, I brought this piece to an ANS "Money of the Americas" Conference in New York City. The rim of this piece was compared to that of a 1793 Cent. The edges looked remarkably similar.....the beat goes on. If anyone has any other examples of early rimmed coins or ideas on this rather arcane subject, I'd appreciate hearing from you. If I receive anything new to report, I will. The November, 2012 Baltimore Coin Show will also host the annual Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4) Convention. I will bring this piece along for anyone interested to examine.

ENDNOTES

1 Bowers and Merena, "The Chris Schenkel Collection," Wolfeboro, NH. Nov. 1990. P. 406.
2 Taxay, Don, *The U.S. Mint and Coinage*, New York: Arco, c1966. p. 96.
3 Breen, Walter, *The Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, New York: Doubleday, 1988, p. 177.
4 Crosby, Sylvester, *The Early Cents of America. New York*, Sanford Durst reprint of the 1875 edition, 1983, pp. 363.

TWO BITS, FOUR BITS, SIX BITS, A DOLLAR

(Ray Williams)

The notes pictured below were purchased from a local coin dealer because they were unusual and the price was right. After owning them for a while, some thoughts came to mind that I'd like to share with other collectors.

My first observation was that both notes were of a very small denomination. This would seem to indicate that there was not enough coinage in circulation to meet the commercial needs of the time (1837) and region (Philadelphia). My second observation was the unusual denomination of the second note, which is 6¼ Cents. Although strange to us today, 6¼ Cents would have been commonly encountered in the early 1800s. It was ¼ of a Mexican 2 Real coin, which was used in commerce on par with a US Quarter. The influence of Spanish coinage on the American economy is evident from the earliest period of colonization until it was demonetized in 1857.

The existence of these notes wouldn't be surprising if a bank on the expanding western frontier issued them – but it amazes me that in 1837 there would be a need for a 5¢ and 6¼¢ notes by the Schuylkill Savings Institution, a bank located within walking distance of the Philadelphia Mint! After being in operation for 44 years, the Philadelphia Mint was not producing enough coinage to meet the local commercial needs. Coins and denominations from our colonial time period were still a very important part of our economy. It would take another 20 years for the Philadelphia Mint, and its branches, to catch up with the growing needs of our still young nation and for legislation to pass demonetizing foreign coinage.

C4 NEWSLETTER RECEIVES AWARD FROM THE ANA

The C4 Newsletter, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club, was selected by a panel of judges to receive the second-place 2012 American Numismatic Association Outstanding Specialty Club Publication Award. The award was presented during the ANA's 2012 annual convention held in Philadelphia.

Presentation of the *C4 Newsletter* Award. Left to right: Walter Ostromecki (ANA Vice President); Tom Hallenbeck (ANA President); Syd Martin (C4 Newsletter Editor); Jeff Shevlin (ANA Executive Director).

C4 LIFE-TIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD PRESENTED TO KENNETH BRESSETT

The Colonial Coin Collectors Club's 2012 Life-Time Achievement Award was presented to Kenneth E. Bressett August 11th by C4 President, Jim Rosen, at the recent annual ANA Convention held in Philadelphia, PA. Previous recipients of this award are David Bowers, Robert Vlack, Eric Newman and Jim Spilman.

Mr. Bressett is one of the founding members of the Rittenhouse Society, founded in the late 1950's. His seminal work on Vermont coppers led to a major article on the subject in 1976, published by the American Numismatic Society in *Studies on Money in Early America*. Although having authored numerous books and articles on numismatics as well as editing a number of books on numismatics, Ken Bressett is probably best known as the editor of *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, affectionately known as the Red Book. He is a recipient of numerous ANA awards, including the Farran Zerbe Award, one of the highest honors a numismatist can receive from the American Numismatic Association. Mr. Bressett is also a past Governor, Vice–President and President of the ANA. Long overdue, this award acknowledges Mr. Bressett's major contributions to the hobby of numismatics.

Kenneth Bressett receives a life-time achievement award from C4 President, Jim Rosen

Honorials and Memorials Funds Established

The Board of Directors has established Honorial and Memorial Funds into which money can be donated from members and non-members of C4 in memory of an individual or in honor of an occasion. Currently, there are two funds into which one can donate. The current funds are the "Educational Fund" and the "Library Fund." The distribution of money from these Funds will be done by a committee made up of Jim Rosen, President, Jack Howes, National Vice President and Buell Ish, Region 7 Vice President.

We would ask that individuals who want to donate money in memory of an individual or to honor an individual or an occasion (excluding weddings and birthdays and anniversaries), fill out the attached form, paying particular attention to the fields that are stared. Send the filled out form to the C4 Treasurer. Your donation will be acknowledged by a personal letter and also in the *Newsletter* unless you want your donation kept anonymous. In addition, the person or family to whom you are making your donation in memory of or in honor of will receive a letter notifying them of the donation. As we are a "Non- Profit" organization, your donation is tax deductible (but always consult your tax advisor regarding this).

We sincerely hope that this venue will keep the memories of our dear friends alive and let us honor our friends and occasions.

Jim Rosen, President, C4.

----------Cut ----------

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Send check and form to: Charlie Rohrer C4 Treasurer P.O. Box 25 Mountville, PA 17554

C4 LIBRARY NEWS

(Leo Shane)

Thanks to those who have donated old copies of auction catalogs to the library. There's room for more. The Library is interested in copies of auction catalogs that we currently do not have – take a look at the list shown on the club website. Any not already in the library will be greatly appreciated. Those with at least one Colonial will have the colonial section separated and added to the library archive. Those with major colonial content will be retained in their entirety.

We conclude the donations of our friend, Jim Jones, before his passing with a run of Ponterio auction catalogs. These contain many Spanish and Portuguese American Colonials and a wealth of knowledge. Thank you Jim. Below also are other new items donated to the club since the last *C4 Newsletter* now available for loan to any C4 member. A complete list of library holdings and instructions on how to borrow them is available at the C4 website www.colonialcoins.org.

The following Ponyrtio catalogues have been donated by Jim Jones.

- *C.I.C.F. '06,* 31 March - 1 April 2006, Rosemount, IL.
- *Anaheim Coin & Collectibles Expo Sale,* 8 September 2006, Anaheim, CA.
- *N.Y.I.N.C. '07,* 12 -13 January 2007, New York, NY.
- *Sale #144,* 6 November 2007, San Diego, CA.
- *N.Y.I.N.C. '07 Sales # 145,* 11-12 January 2008, New York, NY.
- *C.I.C.F. '08,* 25 – 26 April 2008 Sale # 146, Rosemount, IL.
- *Public and Mail Bid Auction,* 16 – 17 September 2008, Beverly Hills, CA.
- *N.Y.I.N.C. '09 Sale # 148,* 9-10 January 2009, New York, NY.
- *C.I.C.F. '09,* 24-25 April 2009 Sale # 149, Rosemount, IL.
- *The 2009 Los Angeles ANA Auction Sale #150,* 8 August 2009, Los Angeles, CA.

Rucker, Ralph and Del Bland, *The Copper Collector's Guide to the Identification of 2X2 Envelopes,* Spring 2012 – Donated by EAC.

Stacks Bowers, *The January 2012 Americana Sale,* 24 – 26 January 2012, New York, NY – Donated by Stack's Bowers.

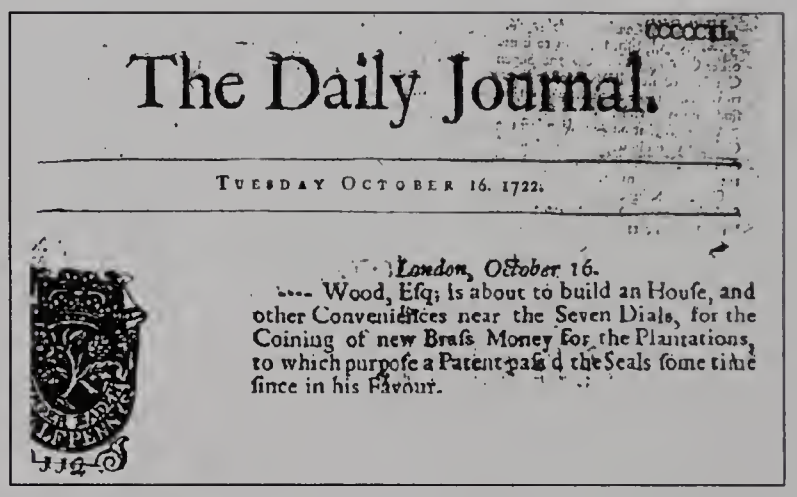
Stacks Bowers, *Official Baltimore Auction,* 27 – 29 June 2012, Baltimore, MD – Donated by Stack's Bowers.

Suggestions for additions to the library are always appreciated. Please consider donating books, auction catalogs, etc. to the library. Remember, those who are learning about colonials now are those who will be buying your coins later. Thank You, my email is Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com -- or write to me at 1130 Woods Lane, Warminster, PA 18974.

****************ANNOUNCEMENTS****************

C4 ANNOUNCES THE RELEASE OF ITS LATEST BOOK: THE ROSA AMERICANA COINAGE OF WILLIAM WOOD

by Sydney F. Martin


The Daily Journal.

TUESDAY OCTOBER 16. 1722.

London, October 16.

---- Wood, Esq; is about to build an House, and other Conveniences near the Seven Dials, for the Coining of new Brass Money for the Plantations, to which purpose a Patent past the Seals some time since in his Favour.

William Wood conceived a plan to manufacture coins for Britain's American Plantations, which were constantly in need of small change to support everyday commercial trans-actions. This plan became entangled in the politics and economic theories of the day, with King George, his mistress, Isaac Newton, Robert Walpole, and other English notables, as well as the colonial merchants, playing key roles in the story behind the production and distribution of the coins.

Drawing upon his original research the author examines the historical context in which the coins were produced, integrating often conflicting existing material. Particular attention is paid to the methods employed in manufacturing these coins, from the underlying metallurgy, to the process of preparing and striking the planchets, the locations where they were made and their circulation patterns.

A catalogue of known die varieties is developed for each of the three denominations issued. Some 21 varieties of halfpence, 66 varieties of pence, and 36 varieties of twopence are identified. As well as describing the coins themselves, he has explored related experimental and pattern issues, providing new insights into these enigmatic issues. Production quantities are estimated, rarity and condition census data developed, and major holdings examined.

Michael Hodder, in his *Introduction* states "The best advice anyone can take before undertaking a difficult research project is condensed in this quotation from Marcus Portius Cato Censorius (234-149 B.C.): 'Master the subject, the words will follow.' Syd Martin's new book on William Wood's Rosa Americana issues is a good example of the continuing aptness of the saying."

The book, which is enjoying favorable reviews, can be obtained from Charles Davis, Numismatic Literature, P.O. Box 547, Wenham, MA 01984; Tel: 978-468-2933; Fax: (978) 468 7893; email: numislit@aol.com.

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Obtaining Back Copies of C4 Newsletter and C4 Auction Catalogues

Wayne Shelby has agreed to store the back copies of the *C4 Newsletter*. People wishing to purchase back issues that are still available should send their money to our treasurer, Charlie Rohrer, whose contact data are at page 2. Upon receipt of the money, he will contact Wayne, who will mail out the material. Back copies of the *Newsletter* are $10 for the first and $8 for all after that placed at the same time. If you have questions of what material is available, you can contact Wayne at:

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C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

For more information on the following three books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis, Numismatic Literature, P.O. Box 547, Wenham, MA 01984; Tel: 978-468-2933; Fax: (978) 468 7893; email: numislit@aol.com.

(1) Jordan, Lou. *John Hull, The Mint, and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2002.

(2) Vlack, Robert. *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2004.

(3) Martin, Sydney. *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722-1724)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2007.

Hardbound copies of past C4 auction catalogues are available in very limited numbers. If interested, contact Ray Williams or Leo Shane.

****

The Daniel Frank Sedwick database of fake cobs is now on ForgeryNetwork : http://www.forgerynetwork.com/default.aspx?keyword=cob..http://www.forgerynetwork.com/asset.aspx?id=QEjfzd5ZR~x~8=

****

The Silver Coins of Massachusetts.

The Silver Coins of Massachusetts by Christopher J. Salmon is a splendidly illustrated review of the silver coins of Massachusetts, employing the latest historical and numismatic evidence as well as novel scientific analysis. Minting techniques are explored in detail. All varieties of the coinage are newly classified with a consistent yet flexible taxonomic system that lists the varieties in chronological order and can readily accommodate potential future discoveries. The system allows an appreciation for how varieties evolved and the relative degree of change that occurred at each step. It is designed to be as simple as possible without oversimplifying, with all varieties named according to their obverse and reverse dies. The book includes a fully illustrated atlas that details important characteristic features. The last part of the atlas displays each variety at actual size to aid in attribution. Regardless of your specialty, adding a Massachusetts Shilling to your collection is always a

welcome event. Consider adding this book to your library. To order, call Megan at ANS with your credit card at 212-571-4470 ext 117.

****

C4 Membership Dues

Annual dues are currently $25.00 for Regular Membership and $10.00 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age). They are payable on a calendar year basis... due January 1. The year through which you are paid appears after your name on the mailing address label on the *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Life Memberships can be purchased for 25 times the annual membership cost, or $625.00. You may mail checks (made out to "C4") to:

Charlie Rohrer
C4 Treasurer
PO Box 25
Mountville, PA 17554

Thank you for paying in a timely manner... It makes his job easier and will be much appreciated!

****

NEW RESOURCE FOR THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Our C4 Newsletter now has an index available on our website at www.colonialcoins.org. There are actually two indexes: one by author and a second by topic/title. This is a beginning and the index will improve over time. We have intentions of updating the index within a week or two of every issue being shipped. We ask past authors and contributors to the C4N to please review their work in the index and forward any corrections/additions/suggestions to Ray Williams at njraywms@optonline.net or give a call.

****

In accordance with our by-laws, those who have recently joined C4 as provisional members are listed below. If any current C4 member in good standing has a reason any of the following should be denied membership in C4, please contact either your Regional VP or the President of the Club, Jim Rosen. The new provisional members, with their home states, are :

PROSPECTIVE C4 MEMBERS -- Fall 2012

Paul Barber - PA	Mark Kratzert - RI
Tom Brady - PA	Nathan Markowitz - OR
Dennis Burkey - VA	Scott McCain - WI
Steven Clark - TX	Robert Mook - DC
Walter Ellis - AZ	Richard Swartz - WI
Mark Fox - MI	

CLASSIFIED ADS

Grayscale ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows (color ads are 50% more in each category):

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1 page	$200	$300	$450	$600	6" x 9"
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Covers cost somewhat more (please inquire). If you want to include a photo with your ad there will be an additional $10 charge. A black and white photo will be needed, but the size can be adjusted. Please send check with your ad. We accept camera-ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 10 lines of text.

NOTICE: The Colonial Coin Collectors Club does not review the ads provided for accuracy, nor does it assess any items offered for sale relative to authenticity, correct descriptions, or the like. C4 is not to be considered a party to any transactions occurring between members based on such ads, and will in no way be responsible to either the buyer or seller.

✧✧✧

The Earliest American Coppers. Contemporary Counterfeit British & Irish Halfpence and Farthings. My personal collections built over the past decade are now for sale. We now have a webpage up and running with most coins imaged and priced. More will go up from time to time. I also have some Colonials and Spanish American Colonials-Cobs up. There are currently about 12 categories populated with coins for sale, they are; British George II, British George III, Irish George II, Irish George III, Counterstamps, Cast Ctfts, Mules, Errors, Regal's Colonials and Cobs. In the near future I will be adding some interesting Misc. I am still selling CD's of my collections, the details are on the webpages. Postage is always free for C4 and EAC members. Please use the savings towards next years dues ;-). Please visit the webpages and feel free to email with any questions.
Clement V. Schettino, PO Box 1093, Saugus, MA 01906
copperclem@comcast.net copperclem.com

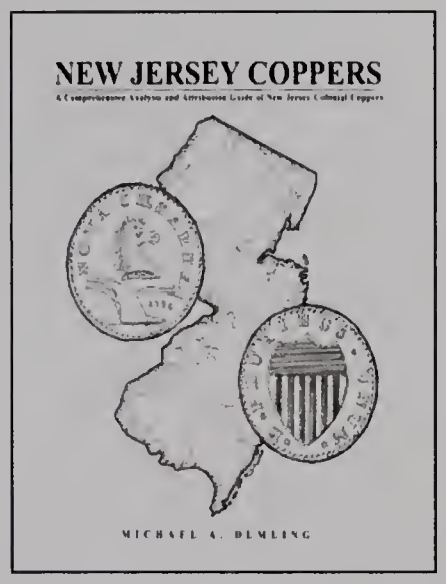
✧✧✧

I have for sale a small number of carefully selected colonial type coins, a fairly large number of Sheldon and Newcomb variety large cents, and an interesting array of numismatic literature. These coins, reference books, and auction catalogues came mostly from our C4/EAC dealer friends, national auctions, and a few cherry-picks. Check it our at www.johndirnbauercoins.com. I encourage you to call me with a trial order to see if you like the high quality, accurate descriptions, and fair prices. Coins sent on approval to C4 and EAC members. I am a long-standing member of ANA, ANS, C4, EAC-571, NBS, and NENA.
John Dirnbauer; P.O. Box 196, Thomaston, ME 04861-0196 (Phone: 207-354-3573)
Email: john@johndirnbauercoins.com.

✧✧✧

A New Publication on New Jersey Coppers

Not since Dr. Maris published his work on the New Jersey Coppers in 1881 has there been a Comprehensive Analysis and Attribution Guide of the New Jersey Colonial Copper Coinage.



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$44.95 + **$3.95 S&H**

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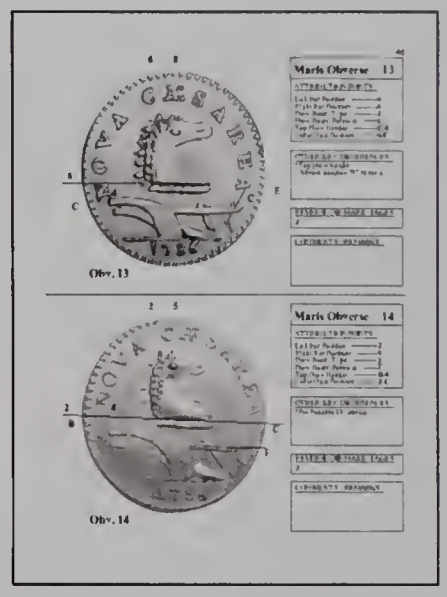

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✧✧✧

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